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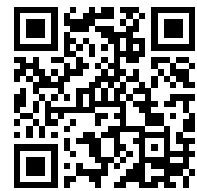

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY.
VOL. LXVII

THE BYNG PAPERS

VOL. I

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THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY was established for the purpose of printing rare or unpublished works of naval interest, thereby rendering accessible the sources of our naval history, and assisting in the elucidation of questions of naval archæology, construction, administration, organisation and social life.

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ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BYNG FIRST VISCOUNT TORRINGTON
from the portrait by
SIR GODFREY KNELLER in the Painted Hall, Greenwich.
Presented to Greenwich Hospital in 1824 by
HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE IV.

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The Byng Papers

SELECTED FROM THE

LETTERS AND PAPERS

OF

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BYNG

FIRST VISCOUNT TORRINGTON

AND OF HIS SON

ADMIRAL THE HON. JOHN BYNG

AND EDITED BY

BRIAN TUNSTALL

VOL. I

PRINTED FOR THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I

THE Society is deeply indebted to the Earl of Strafford for his generosity in putting at its disposal the manuscripts of his great-great-great-great-grandfather, the first Viscount Torrington, and of his great-great-great-great-uncle, the Honourable John Byng.

The manuscripts are unique in that they deal with the lives of two men, father and son, whose public careers, taken together, are without parallel in this or in any other country. Here is the case of a highly successful naval commander and First Lord of the Admiralty having a son who was executed for neglect of duty, though himself an Admiral and a member of the legislature. Treason or cowardice, whether proved or alleged, have always been good grounds for executing naval officers of high rank, as the end of several Lord Admirals of the sixteenth century bears witness. But in the eighteenth century, the age of reason, to execute an admiral for neglect of duty was a barbarous crime. It has been suggested that John Byng was deeply implicated in political intrigue and was therefore the victim of faction, aggravated by his own conduct. On

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the contrary, considering his birth, his rank and his membership of the House of Commons, he probably took less part in politics than any similarly situated man alive at the time. He is not recorded as ever having addressed the House.

Singular interest, therefore, attaches to the official correspondence of these two men, the father who gained every prize open to his profession, the son, a victim of persecution and tragedy, who for the want of four ships failed to equal his father's most memorable exploit.

The manuscripts of Lord Torrington which form the first half of the Byng Papers begin with the year 1702, when he took command of the Nassau, and continue till his death in 1733. They therefore include the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–13, his anti-Jacobite and Mediterranean operations, 1714–20, and his administrative career as Treasurer of the Navy and, later, as First Lord of the Admiralty, 1721–1733.

The major part of his manuscripts consist of actual letters and instructions received by him, which were bound into volumes in chronological order about a hundred years ago.

There are, in addition, three anonymous manuscript lives of him, an Order Book, with copies of orders and instructions, and a collection of private letters and journals, written by various members of the Byng family, dealing with naval and political affairs in southern Europe and the Mediterranean.

The manuscripts of Lord Torrington are of particular interest at the present moment, when

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historical criticism is showing a tendency to concentrate on the late seventeenth century, and when our foremost historian has just produced his magnificent first instalment of *England under Queen Anne*.

The manuscripts of Admiral John Byng begin with the year 1727, when he became a Post-Captain, and continue till 1755, the year before his disastrous Minorca campaign. They are particularly valuable for the latter half of the War of the Austrian Succession, especially for the operations against the Young Pretender in 1745 and for the Mediterranean operations of 1746–48. They are arranged on a different plan from those of his father, being bound, probably in his own lifetime, into volumes, according to the nature of the correspondence. There are, therefore, several series of volumes consisting of letters from the Secretary of the Admiralty, Secretaries of State and other Ministers, Naval and Military Officers, and from the Navy, Victualling and Pay Offices.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Byng Papers cover some fifty-three years, without many gaps, and that for six of these years the two principal sections overlap. They do not include the early life of Lord Torrington, although there are the manuscript lives of him, already referred to, which must be considered later in connection with yet another life in the British Museum. Nor do the Byng Papers include Admiral John Byng's Minorca campaign, the reason doubtless being that these papers were taken to Portsmouth in

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December 1756 for use at his trial, and thus became separated from the main collection. Most of the important ones, however, were published in 1757 in the official report of his trial and I have already dealt fully with the trial and the Minorca campaign in another work.[1]

The principle which has been adopted in selecting material for publication in this volume is that of including all instructions, letters and council of war opinions, dealing with the general conduct of operations and commerce protection. Administrative matter has also been included wherever it appears to be of special interest.

II

Sir George Byng, Viscount Torrington, part of whose papers are the subject of this volume, was in his public career not only one of the most successful naval officers in the British service, but successful at a time when intrigue and politics made success all but impossible. His immediate seniors on the flag list all in turn suffered some public rebuff, entirely due to the changing fortunes of the various political factions and the savageness with which they pursued their aims. Lord Dartmouth was disgraced and sent to the Tower after an honourable and brilliant career. Arthur Herbert, Earl of Torrington of the first creation, was made the scapegoat of Beachy Head. Edward Russell, Lord Orford, was dismissed from his command after his victory at Barfleur and

[1] *Admiral Byng and the Loss of Minorca.* London, 1928.

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La Hogue. Sir George Rooke was superseded after capturing Gibraltar. Sir John Leake, the most reliable commander of the age, was dismissed from the Admiralty by George I, while even George Churchill's extraordinary career finished, when 'at length the death of his royal patron effected that retirement which so much interest had vainly been exerted to compel.'

Sir Clowdisley Shovell was drowned. Of Byng's immediate juniors, Graydon, Whetstone and Wishart were all cashiered or superseded for shortcomings for which they were only partly responsible.

With such fortunes for his contemporaries, therefore, Byng's career is most remarkable.

The principal source for his early life has hitherto been the anonymous manuscript life in the British Museum (Additional MSS. 31,958), entitled *Memoirs Relating to Lord Torrington*, which was edited for the Camden Society in 1889 by the late Sir John Laughton. This life deals with Byng's career as far as January 1705, where it stops abruptly, and the only indication as to the date of its compilation is that it must have been subsequent to 1721, when Byng received his title, otherwise the title would be inapplicable, especially as Arthur Herbert, Earl of Torrington, did not die till 1716.

The most interesting fact about this life in connection with the present work is that the anonymous author begins by stating that he has used Lord Torrington's journals, orders, letters, 'the resolutions of many councils of war,' and

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'other original papers.' This statement is now proved to be true, the wording of the narrative in many cases following Byng's instructions word for word.

Sir John Laughton says in his preface that he had fancied Thomas Corbett, Secretary of the Admiralty as the author, but gave up the idea. It is strange that he ever conceived it, seeing that the author has mixed up the names of St. Pol and Du Guay Trouin and 'jumbled' them into 'St. Paul de Gee,' when the instructions to Byng of 1st December, 1704, show them correctly written. A future Secretary to the Admiralty, even while in a more junior position, is hardly likely to have misread so grossly a perfectly clear Admiralty letter dealing with names with which he must have been familiar, and this is but one of a long series of mistakes in the reading of Byng's original instructions. Clearly then, Thomas Corbett was not the author of the *Memoirs*. Another possible author is the Rev. Thomas Pocock, Byng's brother-in-law, and father of Admiral Sir George Pocock, whose journal for 1704 was printed by Sir John Laughton as an appendix to the Camden Society's publication. But here again his personal knowledge of public affairs seems to rule him out, since the author appears to have had very little knowledge of the people and places he describes, otherwise he would not have made so many mistakes in naming them.

In any case the question of authorship is of no great concern, seeing that Byng while at the Admiralty and the Navy Board must have come

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in contact with dozens of persons only too willing to make an attempt at editing his correspondence.

We now come to the three manuscript lives in the possession of the Earl of Strafford. They are all anonymous, and two are only of slight interest, being little more than unbound biographical notes dealing chiefly with the genealogy of the Byng family, and being practically identical in form. The third, however, is a more important work, and will in future be referred to as the *Life* to distinguish it from the *Memoirs*.

It has no title and is written in a vellum bound volume eight inches by twelve. It begins with some genealogical matter, and then proceeds to deal with Byng's early services, accompanied by many marginal references to the 'Gazette' and 'Navy Books,' and quotes from Byng's journals, Bishop Burnet and Seller's 'English Pilot.'

It gives a very full account of the English occupation of Tangier and of the fighting against the Algerines, together with some shrewd comments on contemporary home politics. Byng's activities are traced in it down to 1685, where it stops abruptly at 12th April, in the middle of a narrative of his voyage to India in the Phœnix. For the period it covers it is a far abler work than the *Memoirs*, being written with skill and spirit, and supplies many extra details. But so much of the matter in it is irrelevant to Byng's career that it has not been considered worth printing in full. Moreover, it is a disappointing work, because it ends before the Revolution and therefore provides no means of checking the highly

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dramatic story given in the *Memoirs*, of Byng's activities as a secret agent of the Prince of Orange.

As it quotes Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Times* it was presumably written some time after 1723, though not necessarily in Byng's lifetime. Nevertheless, it is most regrettable that it was not continued, as the author promises to deal with several interesting topics further on, including Kirke's system of signals to prevent surprise by the Moors.

From internal evidence it is clear that the other two manuscript lives were compiled between the years 1730 and 1733.

III

Byng's ancestry and family connections can be best understood from the accompanying table.

From this it will be seen that a younger branch of the family achieved considerable importance at Cambridge, Thomas Byng being Vice-Chancellor of the University as well as Master of Clare Hall and Regius Professor of Civil Law. His son Henry and his grandson John, being Serjeants at Law, were both Council to the University, and his second son, Andrew, was a Hebrew scholar of great eminence, and was made Master of Corpus Christi College on the personal recommendation of King James I.[1]

Of the elder branch, Robert Byng of Wrotham was High Sheriff of Kent and seems to have been

[1] The relationship to the elder branch of the family is omitted in the notices of Thomas and Andrew Byng in the *D.N.B.*

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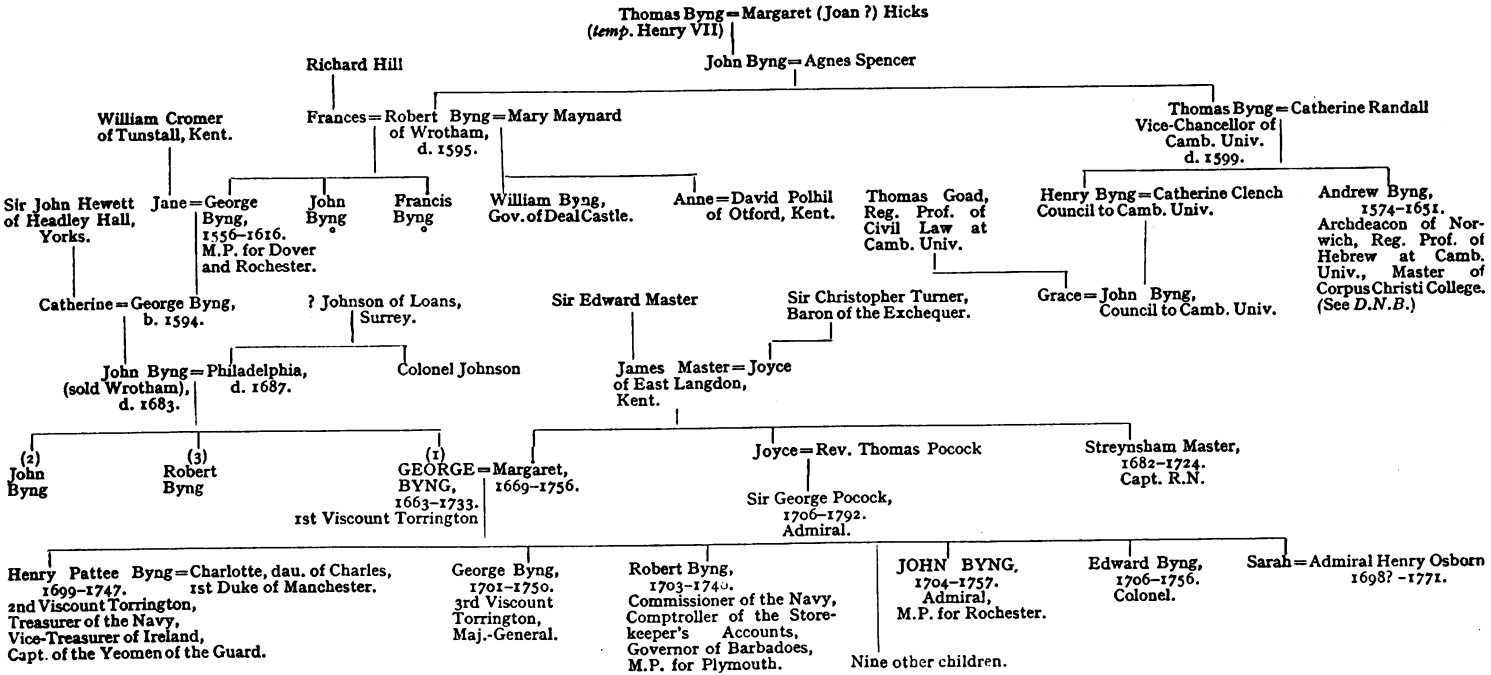
Thomas Byng = Margaret (Joan ?) Hicks
(temp. Henry VII)
John Byng = Agnes Spencer
Richard Hill
William Cromer of Tunstall, Kent.
Frances = Robert Byng of Wrotham, d. 1595. = Mary Maynard
Thomas Byng = Catherine Randall
Vice-Chancellor of Camb. Univ. d. 1599.
Sir John Hewett of Headley Hall, Yorks.
Jane = George Byng, 1556–1616. M.P. for Dover and Rochester.
John Byng
Francis Byng
William Byng, Gov. of Deal Castle.
Anne = David Polhil of Otford, Kent.
Thomas Goad, Reg. Prof. of Civil Law at Camb. Univ.
Henry Byng = Catherine Clench Council to Camb. Univ.
Andrew Byng, 1574–1651. Archdeacon of Norwich, Reg. Prof. of Hebrew at Camb. Univ., Master of Corpus Christi College. (See D.N.B.)
Catherine = George Byng, b. 1594.
? Johnson of Loans, Surrey.
Sir Edward Master
Sir Christopher Turner, Baron of the Exchequer.
Grace = John Byng, Council to Camb. Univ.
John Byng = Philadelphia, d. 1687. (sold Wrotham), d. 1683.
Colonel Johnson
James Master = Joyce of East Langdon, Kent.
(2) John Byng
(3) Robert Byng
(1) GEORGE BYNG, 1663–1733. 1st Viscount Torrington = Margaret, 1669–1756.
Joyce = Rev. Thomas Pocock
Sir George Pocock, 1706–1792. Admiral.
Streynsham Master, 1682–1724. Capt. R.N.
Henry Pattee Byng = Charlotte, dau. of Charles, 1st Duke of Manchester.
1699–1747. 2nd Viscount Torrington, Treasurer of the Navy, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, Capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard.
George Byng, 1701–1750. 3rd Viscount Torrington, Maj.-General.
Robert Byng, 1703–1740. Commissioner of the Navy, Comptroller of the Storekeeper's Accounts, Governor of Barbadoes, M.P. for Plymouth.
JOHN BYNG, 1704–1757. Admiral, M.P. for Rochester.
Nine other children.
Edward Byng, 1706–1756. Colonel.
Sarah = Admiral Henry Osborn 1698? –1771.

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prosperously established, and his son George sat as member both for Dover and Rochester. But in the next generation something seems to have gone wrong, for we find that his son George, who married Catherine Hewett, left the estate of Wrotham 'much impaired' to his son John, who was forced to sell it. 'Scheams and projects to improve and make fortunes in Ireland were the humour and fashion of the times,'[1] and thither John went with his family in 1666, his son George being then three years old. They lived at Newton by Charleville, but at the end of six years 'he found himself deceived and undone'[2] and returned to England, leaving his family behind. But Mrs. Byng 'being pressed by those to whom he was indebted'[3] was soon forced to follow him, bringing with her the eldest son George and leaving John and Robert in the care of friends. 'Mr. Byng now saw little hope of retrieving his affairs,'[4] and sold his remaining estate at Tonbridge.

Meanwhile, his eldest son George, who was born on 27th January, 1663, was brought up and educated by the Countess of Middleton, a friend of the family. When he was fifteen, his father applied to Lord Peterborough, who presented him to the Duke of York with the request that the Duke 'would recommend him into the sea service.'[5] The moment was well chosen, for the English Government, having withdrawn from the unholy alliance with the French in 1674, were

[1] *Life.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Memoirs*, p. 2.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Life.*

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preparing to give active assistance by sea and land to the United Provinces. The Duke therefore spoke to Mr. Pepys 'in a very earnest manner,'[1] and, on 30th May, 1678, George Byng received the King's letter to be a volunteer in the Swallow. We can best understand his earliest services from the notes made by Sir John Laughton in the *Memoirs*,[2] which give them as follows :—

Date of Entry	Date of Discharge	Name of Ship	Name of Captain
11 July 1678	28 Nov. 1678	Swallow	Joseph Haddock Thomas Fowler
28 Nov. 1678	9 June 1679	Reserve	David Lloyd Lawrence Wright
9 June 1679	8 June 1680	Mary Rose	Charles Talbot
11 April 1681	10 May 1681	Phoenix	William Blagg

The Swallow was only employed in carrying troops to Flanders and, although Haddock proved 'an amable man and shewed him great civilities and encouragement,'[3] he only began his experiences of ocean voyaging in the summer of 1679 when he sailed in the Mary Rose to Newfoundland, which was sent with the Reserve to protect the fisheries. They stayed out till October, when they sailed for the Mediterranean and reached Leghorn in February 1680. They then

[1] *Life*. [2] P. 4.
[3] *Life*. He was younger brother of Admiral Sir Richard Haddock.

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touched at Genoa, Minorca, Alicante, and Malaga, picking up homeward-bound merchantmen at each of them, and reached Tangier either at the end of March or at the beginning of April with about seventy of these merchantmen.[1]

The author of the *Life* here interpolates a long account of the English occupation of Tangier, and gives a graphic description of the efforts of the garrison to build both a mole and land fortification and to plough and cultivate while constantly assailed by countless Moors surreptitiously supported by the Spaniards. When the Mary Rose and Reserve arrived Tangier was undergoing a very severe attack and, although ably defended by the deputy governor, Sir Palmes Fairborne, was practically *in extremis*. The Charles and Henrietta forts were completely isolated and Byng was nearly captured through over-curiosity when making a private reconnaissance.

The Mary Rose and Reserve reached Plymouth early in May, bringing what must have been the very latest news of the siege, for the *Life* records that ' as soon as the King received the accounts of the situation of the affairs at Tangiers, which these ships brought him, he was so intent upon recovering the place, that he immediately ordered in Council that 12,000 foot and 120 horse should be forthwith sent to reinforce that garison.' But an officer who had left there on 25th April arrived shortly afterwards to say that the attacks had abated and that the situation was less critical,

[1] *Life*.

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which caused the preparations for its relief to go forward in a more leisurely fashion. The Moors, however, soon attacked again, the Charles and Henrietta forts were lost, and Fairborne was forced to make a truce in May. News of this only arrived the day before several noblemen and 'persons of distinction' were sailing to join the garrison as volunteers, so that when they arrived and found the fighting stopped, they came home again.

Unfortunately, the strategic control of Tangier was not quite such a simple problem as it may seem, for with it was inextricably mixed all the political complications of the day, notably those connected with the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill. Sir Julian Corbett deals with this very thoroughly in *England in the Mediterranean*, chapter XXIV, and the author of the *Life* in his very able account faithfully reflects the uncertainty and anxiety of the times.

In April 1681 Byng sailed for Tangier again in the Phoenix, having been nearly a year unemployed and being still only a volunteer. The ship arrived at the beginning of May and found all quiet, a treaty of peace having been concluded, to last four years. This was the result of the fighting in September 1680 which succeeded the truce and in which the garrison had made a magnificent defence and by brilliant sorties regained much ground, although Fairborne had died of wounds.

Sir James Leslie had been appointed as ambassador to negotiate the peace, but he was

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so fearful of his task and took so long getting ready that at last Colonel Percy Kirke volunteered to go to Fez alone, without pass or escort, and to begin the negotiations with the Emperor of Morocco. In this he was highly successful, the Emperor writing to Charles II: 'Thy servant has been at my court; he has eat of my bread, I like the man, and so long as he commands in Tangier, I will have peace there.' With the way thus paved Leslie made the treaty and Kirke settled down as governor. Kirke thus gained an extraordinary reputation not only with his own countrymen but also with the surrounding African chiefs. His temerity in going to Fez uninvited is illustrated by the story that when he first arrived the Emperor 'sent him a compliment, that he was welcome, but believing he was wary [sic] after his journey, and that he was so too, having been diverting himself with giving three men to his lyons, he would see him the next day.' [1] On another occasion the Emperor was so impatient to test the reputed range of a gun with which Kirke had presented him, that he insisted on posting a man at the required distance and shooting at him, with fatal results.

When, therefore, Byng reached Tangier in May 1681 he found himself in a place which the author of the *Life* considered the best school of arms for Englishmen at that time.

Serving in the garrison was Colonel Johnson, his uncle, 'a very sweet-tempered man' and a great friend of Kirke's. Johnson at once took

[1] *Life.*

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a fancy to his nephew and asked him to dinner to meet Kirke, who enquired good-humouredly 'what he did with that strange ill-tempered Captain (meaning Blagg) . . . and invited him to be on shoar till he could recommend him to Admiral Herbert who then commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean against the Algerines; and Mr. Kirk insisted upon his coming away directly from such a man as his captain was.' [1]

Byng, who 'thought this friendship and invitation was not to be neglected,' jumped at the offer and, obtaining his discharge in the next few days, was appointed by Kirke to be a cadet in the Grenadiers pending an opportunity for his 'preferment.' [2] This scene in which Byng (who was little more than a midshipman), when dining with his uncle, was addressed by the King's Governor more or less as follows: 'My dear boy, I can't understand how you can stick being in the same ship with that awful fellow Dash; why not come ashore and join the Army?' could hardly find its counterpart to-day. But the boy of eighteen, who sat dazzled by the vigorous personality of the famous soldier, showed the shrewdness of a skilled opportunist in attaching himself to a man who counted for something in the world and in abandoning for a time the chaperoning of merchantmen and fishing-boats. He was well rewarded for his enterprise for in about six months' time a vacancy occurred in Kirke's own regiment,[3]

[1] *Life.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] This was the famous Second Tangier Regiment, later known as the King's Own, and notoriously as 'Kirke's Lambs,' from their badge, which was a Paschal Lamb.

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to which he was immediately appointed with a commission of ensign. As the company to which he was appointed was Kirke's own personal one he had 'the advantages and command of it,' since Kirke refrained from appointing any 'captain-leftenant' in charge of it.

Byng quickly proved himself 'a deligent and active officer, and esteemed in the garrison as one of the best martinetts there,'[1] and was rewarded by constant favours from Kirke, his uncle and the other senior officers. Naturally he became very unpopular with his equals 'as he associated but little with them,' being entirely taken up with 'ingratiating himself' with his seniors, 'and endeavouring to insinuate himself into their esteem and favour,' which 'he reckoned so much the foundation of his future rise in the world, that he neglected nothing towards it. And as often as it was not convenient to him to be with them, from the expences little sutable to an ensign, he retired and applyed himself to reading, instead of wasting his time (as he esteemed it to be and his small pay too which he could ill spare) with the officers of his own rank.'[2] He also avoided 'excessive drinking, which was so much in practice throughout the whole garrison' and in this followed the behaviour of Kirke, 'who lived very temperate.'[3]

Early in 1683 Kirke gave up the com-

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 4. [2] *Life*.

[3] *Life*. The author pays a great tribute to Kirke's ability as Governor of Tangier and his precaution against surprise, and also exculpates him from the blame of severity after Sedgemoor on the grounds that he only obeyed the 'orders of the Court.'

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mand of his regiment and, as a parting favour, promoted Byng to a lieutenantcy in Colonel Charles Churchill's [1] company of it. This promotion was over the heads of all the other ensigns, who went to Kirke in a body to complain, but were dismissed with the assurance that no other more junior officer should be put over them.

Kirke now suggested that instead of quitting the sea service altogether, he should be in both, and therefore appointed him lieutenant of 'the Half Gally that attended upon the garrison,' while allowing him to keep his commission in the Army. The Deptford ketch also attended upon the garrison and, her captain falling ill, Kirke appointed Byng to her 'with a view to making him captain of her in case Mitchell died, which in those days would at once have given him a rank in the Navy. But Lord Dartmouth's arrival at Tangier defeated Mr. Kirke's good intentions, and greatly disappointed Mr. Byng in his hopes,' for although he renewed Byng's temporary commission, as soon as Mitchell died he insisted on appointing his own first lieutenant to the Deptford. Kirke 'took it ill and showed himself much displeased,' but Dartmouth was commander-in-chief by sea and land and could not be gainsaid. Nevertheless, he went so far as to promise Byng a proper commission as lieutenant at some future date. Byng was very annoyed and wished to leave the sea service entirely, but was persuaded by Kirke to be patient and at last, on 23rd February, 1684, was appointed lieutenant in the Oxford,

[1] Brother of the Duke of Marlborough.

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Captain John Tyrrell. Dartmouth had come out principally to superintend the evacuation of Tangier and the destruction of the Mole and harbour works,[1] and when this was complete he sailed to England with his whole fleet. The Oxford anchored at Spithead on 3rd April after a very bad passage, and then went round to Chatham to refit.

Byng now received a new commission as lieutenant in Colonel Churchill's company of Kirke's old regiment,[2] now commanded by Trelawney, but was excused duty owing to his being simultaneously appointed to the Phoenix with the rest of the Oxford's company, still under Captain Tyrrell.

IV

After fitting out the Phoenix, Tyrrell was ordered to proceed to the Downs and await further orders and on 6 July was told to proceed to Newfoundland to protect the fisheries. He had got as far as Plymouth when he, on 12th August, received fresh orders to return to the Downs and, on 16th August, further orders to go into Portsmouth and to refit preparatory to a voyage to the East Indies.

An extraordinary state of affairs had arisen at Bombay, where the military officers and civil officials of the East India Company had revolted against the arbitrary methods of the Deputy Governor and had elected Captain Keigwin and

[1] *England in the Mediterranean*, chap. xxv.
[2] Called the 'Dutchess of Yorke's' in this commission.

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Captain Thorburn to control respectively the military and civil affairs. Sir Josiah Child, the President of the Company, thereupon intervened with the King and the Duke of York, both staunch supporters of the Company's trade, with the result that Tyrrell was ordered to go out and suppress the mutiny calling first at Surat for orders, where Sir John Child, the President's brother, was Governor. The sending of a King's ship to eastern waters, however, gave Josiah Child another idea, and he thereupon persuaded the King to put Tyrrell at the Company's disposal for the suppression of 'interlopers' or merchants who, while often pretending to be members of the Company, traded privately with Eastern potentates and so infringed the Company's monopoly. The King, who was a believer in monopolies, at once agreed and Tyrrell therefore received instructions, dated 23rd October, and countersigned by Pepys, in which he was given a dual rôle. After suppressing the trouble at Bombay, supposing it had not yet been settled, he was to spend his time catching interlopers till the next monsoon, when he was to return home. Albeit he was to be extremely careful in his treatment of any ships he captured and was to hand them over to the Admiralty courts and on no account to do them, their crews or their cargoes any avoidable damage.

The Phoenix sailed from Spithead on 28th November with a crew of 180 men, Byng being the second lieutenant. They touched at the Canaries, the author of the *Life* noting that the peak of

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Teneriffe is ' said to be the highest [mountain] in the world,' and on 5th January, 1685, anchored off St. Jago in the Cape Verde Islands. Here they picked up the Prudent Mary, which Tyrrell had been instructed to convoy to the East and also the Francis, an interloper, which Tyrrell enticed to sail under his protection. Two days out from St. Jago Tyrrell decided to seize the Francis, since she was now within the limits of the Company's monopoly, and on 13th January Byng took possession of her without resistance and put her in charge of a mate of the Phoenix. On 30th January Tyrrell commemorated the execution of Charles I ' by striking their colours, and about the time of his suffering, by firing even guns.' [1] The same day they crossed the line and 28th March anchored in Table Bay. Byng was apparently so struck with beauties of the Cape of Good Hope that ' in the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne, when everything he thought valuable in his own country was in danger, it used to be a topick of his conversation among his friends, their retiring with their families to the Cape of Good Hope, where they should have a bright sun over their heads, a serene air to breathe, a fruitfull soil to cultivate and even find a content in living among the Hottentots, which prevailing influence of such men as there were then carrying all before them, would not suffer him to have in his own country, which he should not be able any longer to serve, nor help to save from ruin.' [2]

[1] *Life*.
[2] This paragraph appears on the last page but three of the *Life*.

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On 11th June they anchored at Bombay, Tyrrell having captured two more interlopers, the Little Betty, off Madagascar, and the Bristol off the island of Johanna. Meanwhile Tyrrell seems to have been developing an awkward temper, 'for his ill nature occasioned many broils,'[1] and he even put Byng under arrest for a fortnight with a sentry at his cabin door, though when they reached Bombay, 'he desired they might be friends and he would forget what had passed between them and go ashoar together.'[2] The Mutiny at Bombay had been already suppressed and Tyrrell was therefore free to apply himself to the interlopers, but although in this he achieved great success he was by no means pleased with his position.

Mr. J. G. Bullocke, in his very interesting article on *Captain Tyrrell and the East India Company*, published in the *Mariner's Mirror*, July 1926, has shown that Tyrrell's annoyance arose from the fact that the Company allowed him no bounty or percentage on these captures as a reward, and that he was doing distinctly worse financially than he would have been if employed in seizing Algerine coasters.

After a three months' stay at Bombay they sailed for Surat and on the way encountered a pirate ship from Gujerat, mounting only 8 guns but manned by 300 desperadoes aroused to a state of fanatical heroism by 'a certain drug, called bang.' Tyrrell tried over and over again to board her, but had too much way on, till at

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*

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last at sunset, Byng and eleven men got on board her. They were at once surrounded by a mob of pirates armed with 'symiters' and Byng 'received two deep cuts on his left side, quite cross his back, thro' a very thick buff belt he had round him.' At this moment the pirate craft sank and Byng being unable to swim seized a pirate by the hair in order to support himself, but fearing the pirate would drown him, let go and got hold of a plank, 'yet had little hopes of saving his life, having drunk much water and was so weak that he sank 2 or 3 times and was near being carried away by the current.' At length, encouraged by the Phoenix's corporal who was clinging to the mainmast head, the ship having sunk in shoal water, he let go the plank and struggled to the mast, where the corporal supported him till they were picked up by the Phoenix's boat and taken back to the ship, where they being 'allmost drowned and their stomaks being full of water were rowled upon a table.'[1]

After this action they returned to Bombay to refit and then went to Surat, where Sir John Child took Byng into his own house and kept him there for seven weeks till his wounds were healed. During November and December the Phoenix cruised westwards to the entrance of the Persian Gulf, and on 11th January, 1686, returned to Surat. Here, by Tyrrell's orders, Byng boarded and captured the Blessing, an English interloper from Siam, bearing goods in which the Indian merchants of Surat were interested. They there-

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 10.

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fore captured Byng while in his barge and held him as a hostage against the return of the Blessing, but Tyrrell countered this by stopping all traffic in the river, with the result that Byng was at once released and the Blessing retained.

About this time when Byng was ashore interviewing Sir John Child, news was brought that Tyrrell was dead, on which Child at once suggested to Byng a plan for 'breaking with the Mogull' and seizing all his ships with the aid of the Phoenix, Byng apparently being now first lieutenant. He at once agreed and, as speed and secrecy were essential, went to take possession of the ship, only to find that Tyrrell was not dead after all, but only very ill.

When Tyrrell recovered he decided to return to England at once and sailed from Surat on 9th January, 1687, without receiving 'any of the usuall honours even due to his rank,' though Byng 'was attended by the councill and factory, in their coaches, down to the waterside.'[1] The Phœnix touched at Bombay and Goa and came home *via* St. Helena and Ascension Island and paid off at Deptford in August.

Byng went to call on Sir Josiah Child to repay some money which Sir John had lent him, and was offered the command of one of the Company's ships. He, however, refused this offer, 'as being bred up in the King's service, yet retained a gratefull sense of the civilities he had received.' He then joined his regiment, quartered at Bristol, as lieutenant in Charles Churchill's Company.

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 15.

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V

Early in 1688, while still at Bristol, Byng received a most flattering letter from Mr. Pepys indicating a desire to make him flag-captain to Sir Roger Strickland, but the project failing he was offered and accepted the post of first lieutenant to Captain John Ashby in the Mordaunt, part of Strickland's squadron.

It was a highly exciting moment, James Duke of York's policy, now that he was King, being characterised by great honesty of purpose and great lack of tact. His scheme for withdrawing the ridiculous ban on Catholics and Dissenters from entering the public service, was a far-sighted move and had in it a great deal of level-headed statesmanship, as well as a natural enthusiasm for easing the burden of his co-religionists. For while England by the Test Act denied herself the services of Catholics at Sea, in the Army, at the Bar, and in the Civil Service, the Catholic rulers on the Continent eagerly gathered them up till there was hardly a Catholic state in Europe which did not have English, Irish or Scots Catholics highly placed in its service. Meanwhile, those who did not take up public service abroad, but were vigorous by disposition, were often led into framing the fantastic 'plots' which could have been stopped at once by the removal of the Test Act.

James, however, when he found the Protestants strongly opposed to any relaxation either for Catholics or Dissenters, began to pursue his ends

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in a most tactless manner. The Protestants, however, were comforted by the thought that in the end the throne must go to the Princess Mary, the wife of William of Orange. But just when the country was roused to an immense pitch of excitement by the Trial of the Seven Bishops there came the birth of Mary of Modena's son, James. The Protestant magnates had for some time been in secret communication with William and Mary, but faced with this new possibility of a Catholic dynasty, they sent Admiral Arthur Herbert to Holland with a definite invitation to William to come over to England. This was on 30th June, 1687, the day of the acquittal of the Seven Bishops. Louis XIV, who naturally was well informed of everything that was afoot, at once warned James to be on his guard and, in consequence, Strickland was posted in the Downs, 'to look out and endeavour to speak with all ships passing those ways, and give what intelligence they could of the number, force and motion of the ships of any foreign prince or state.' [1]

Strickland, according to instructions, cruised north as far as Orfordness and Solebay and while at the Nore, during July, his squadron was inspected by the King who 'went on board most of the ships in the fleet, not only to view their condition but likewise to ingratiate himself with the officers and seamen, behaving with great affability and taking notice of every particular officer.' [2]

Some discussion now arose between James and Strickland and his officers as to the best station

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

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for resisting a Dutch invasion, James favouring a position just south of the Kentish Knock and Strickland and his council of war wanting to be near the Gunfleet.

On 2nd September Strickland heard that a fleet of 25 Dutch ships were off Goree, 'some of them under sail,' but while he was making his preparations to resist them he was superseded by Lord Dartmouth who was sent by James to take over the command in chief. Dartmouth's appointment seems due to the fact that James was wise enough not to leave his fleet in the hands of a pronounced Catholic like Strickland, who might fail at a critical moment to command the loyalty of his captains. Dartmouth, on the other hand, being perfectly loyal and a Protestant, would be the right man to urge the importance of making all possible resistance to a foreign invasion.

On 3rd October Dartmouth took over the command, having received instructions from James, dated 1st October, directing him to concentrate his whole force at the Buoy of the Nore. Counting those fitting out, he had, with Strickland's squadron, already at sea a total of 61 ships, 38 being of the line.

His personal position was about as difficult as that held by any English admiral before or since. He had under his command an adequate fleet, considering the nature of his task, but it was extremely doubtful if this task would even be attempted. Mr. E. B. Powley, in his book *The English Navy in the Revolution of 1688*,[1] has

[1] Published 1928.

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brought all the factors in this critical situation and has shown, in a most convincing manner, the uncertainty which prevailed in the English fleet. Most of the officers were Protestants and detested James's Catholic policy, but, on the other hand, they were bound to him by strong professional ties as well as by those of ordinary loyalty. Some of them were willing to go the whole hog and accept William of Orange in order to save the Protestant Succession, but others, though they detested James, as well as his policy, also detested the idea of bringing in a Dutchman, even with an English wife, herself the Protestant heiress. It was essential to the success of the ultra-Protestant party's scheme that the English Navy should offer no resistance to William, otherwise, even if he won, the country would not accept him as the destroyer of it sfleet. Again, even a half-hearted cannonade, with many English captains holding back, might serve to rekindle the fury of the Dutch wars and so spoil all by provoking a general engagement.

If William's party were to get him to England without a shot being fired they must conduct some powerful propaganda in the English fleet. Herbert had already been won over, but what about the others ?

A meeting was held in London by the Duke of Ormonde, Colonel, now General, Kirke, Captain Matthew Aylmer and others to consider this question. Kirke, remembering his past acts of patronage, told Aylmer, who was going down to join the fleet to sound Byng and to let him know

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that Kirke himself and Edward Russell and others were about to join the Prince. Meanwhile, the officers of Dartmouth's fleet were in a state of extreme nervous tension, distrustful of themselves, each other and their King, though so far no one had openly shown signs of disloyalty. Nevertheless, on 17th October, Dartmouth wrote to James that he was glad they were getting to sea as it would prevent his commanders 'caballing one with another,' and on 22nd October he reported 'some hints of dissatisfaction in the young men in the fleet.' Byng meanwhile had been transferred to the Defiance, still under Captain Ashby, who had taken a great liking to him and had let him run the Mordaunt just as he pleased.

As soon as he reached the fleet, Aylmer, who was really the principal Orange agent in it, sought out Byng and revealed to him the full extent of the Orange party's preparations, demanding his silence about it in Kirke's name. Byng at once swore to keep the secret, and, on learning that Kirke himself was for the Prince, readily agreed to work with Aylmer and others in winning over the various senior officers. Apparently they achieved their object fairly rapidly, for in a few days there were only two captains of any importance whose adhesion had not yet been gained. These were Wolfran Cornwall of the Dartmouth fireship and John Ashby, Byng's own captain, 'both of them zealous for the King and had great credit in the fleet.'[1] Byng did not dare to tackle Ashby himself, but brought Aylmer

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 27.

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on board and 'put them together in the cabin.' Ashby however proved obdurate, saying that 'in their profession they were not taught to turn against the King; and gave no direct answer, desiring time to consider of it.'

After this Byng interviewed him privately 'and upon his telling him that he knew the dispositions of the most considerable persons in the fleet, and shewing the necessity there was to free themselves from popish oppression, he then yielded so far as to become a well-wisher to the cause.'

The conversion of Cornwall presented a more formidable task, since when approached by some of his intimate friends on the subject, who alone dare mention it to him, he spoke of deserting the King, to whom he said, he and his family owed obligations, as 'villany.' Byng, however, was willing to convert him and did so by artfully naming some of Cornwall's 'intimate and perticular friends, as Mr. Herbert, Kirk, Russell, etc.' who 'were engaged in it.'

At this 'he was confounded, and upon his [Byng] further naming a captain of the fleet who was a most intimate friend of his, and of whom he had the very best opinion of as a very righteous person, he was surprised.' Byng then arranged that Cornwall and the said captain should meet at supper, after which Cornwall 'gave up his zeal for the King; and from that time no man was more heartily in the cause.'

Meanwhile Dartmouth, who suspected something but not everything of what was afoot, 'judging it most proper to lye off the Gunfleet,'

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sailed there. On 24th October he held a council of war at which ' it was proposed, and much insisted on by some, that the fleet should go over to the coastt of Holland and there wait the motions of the Dutch.' The plotters, however, ' brought over the majority of the councill to think it was hazarding the fleet to lye on that dangerous coast at this time of year.' Instead, they carried a counter-proposal to move the fleet to the Ship-wash and to send frigates only to observe the Dutch. ' This was a point artfully gained by those that were industrious to possess the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the measures taken to prevent his designs.' [1]

William of Orange had already put to sea on 19th October but had been driven back by a storm. He sailed again on 3rd November with over 70 warships and 400 transports bearing 14,000 troops. Dartmouth was well aware of his preparations and, after a hectic exchange of letters with the King, had decided to disregard the advice of the council of war and to sail for the Dutch coast. He weighed anchor on 30th October, but next day the ' Protestant wind ' began to blow from the south-east, and, while he lay wind-bound off the Long Sand Head, the Prince of Orange's fleet, guided by Herbert, swept down the Channel. Next day Dartmouth was able to pursue, and the Orangeite captains were in close conclave to decide what they should do if they came up with

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 27. Mr. Powley assumes somewhat incorrectly that the decision to go to the Gunfleet in the first instance was the ' point artfully gained.'

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the Dutch. Some thought that if Dartmouth decided to fight they should 'in honour,' 'do their duty against them,' but the 'general opinion' carried the day in favour of desertion. On 5th November, when off Beachy Head, Dartmouth called a council of war at which it was decided not to fight 'if in honour it coud be avoided.' Dartmouth was obviously nettled by the new spirit he noticed in his captains, and in any case had only 28 of the line immediately available.

Next day any chance of a fight was prevented by a strong westerly gale, which drove Dartmouth's fleet back to the Downs, while William of Orange, having landed at Torbay without opposition, was marching in triumph towards Exeter. In conformity with instructions from James, Dartmouth sailed from the Downs on 16th October, but instead of staying at Spithead as ordered he pushed on for Torbay, in order to give no excuse to his officers for delaying at Spithead for pretended requirements. On 17th October they sighted the Dutch fleet, but a heavy gale rising they were driven east again to Spithead. Ashby in trying to beat to windward ran over as far as Alderney and 'was inclined to carry his ship over to the Prince,' but meeting Strickland was forced to accompany him to Spithead.

The Orange party in the fleet now decided to offer their services to the Prince and deputed Byng to take him a secret message. Byng accordingly obtained leave from Dartmouth to visit a relation in Huntingdonshire, 'upon affairs that very much concerned him,' and, disguising

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himself as a farmer, landed at Gosport. He decided to travel *via* Salisbury and on the way was stopped by some of Lord Oxford's regiment of horse, with whose officers he was acquainted, 'but, from the meanness of his habit they did mistrust him.'

At Salisbury, where he changed horses, he was accosted by the postmaster who said he mistrusted him and showed him a warrant to stop persons suspected of joining the Prince. But as 'they prouved to be in the same interest,' Byng was allowed to proceed and rode to Dorchester where he was recognised in an inn by a servant of Colonel Rooke's who took him upstairs to a room where he was much surprised to find his uncle, Colonel Johnson, and Colonel Rooke, who had just come from the Prince, having deserted the King's army. They gave him a guide to lead him to Exeter, but on the way, it being a very dark night, they were held up by a party of men, whose officer recognised Byng's voice and proved to be Colonel Wingfield of the Prince's cavalry. Eventually, on 28th November, Byng came up with the Prince who was lodged at Lord Bristol's house at Sherborne, preparatory to moving on to Salisbury. The first person he met on entering the house was John Churchill, who had deserted the King only four days previously. On being asked his business Byng said that he wished to see Russell, who presented him to the Prince. Byng delivered the message from the officers of the fleet, gave the Prince their names and was much praised for his zeal and promised prefer-

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ment in the future. The Prince entrusted him with a reply to the officers and also with a letter to Dartmouth requesting his adhesion to the Protestant cause and promising that Herbert should not be promoted over his head.

The Prince advised Byng to put these letters in the stuffing of his saddle, but instead he 'thought it best to quilt them in the rowlers of his breeches.'[1] He returned to Portsmouth safely and informed the officers of his success but seems to have been unable to think of a plan for delivering the Prince's letter to Dartmouth, till at last Aylmer 'one morning took an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilett.'[2] In fact, Mr. Powley has discovered positive evidence that Dartmouth did not receive it till 12th December.[3]

Meanwhile, on his return to the fleet Byng found, as Dartmouth expressed it, 'a great alteration in most people's faces.' In a letter begun on 28th November and despatched on the 30th, Dartmouth informed the King that he could no longer control the fleet, as 'the dayly impressions they receive make them stand amased,'[4] and strongly advised him to summon Parliament in order to effect some proper constitutional settlement. Dartmouth was now in a pitiable state of indecision. His personal loyalty to the King and his keen sense of public welfare prevented him from resigning the command and yet he realised that the least sign of

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 32. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *English Navy in the Revolution of 1688*, pp. 131, 132, 143.
[4] *English Navy in the Revolution of 1688*, p. 125.

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initiative on his part in the King's favour would provoke an instant mutiny. Moreover, he realised that even his present shadowy authority might at any moment disappear since he was informed by Captain David Lloyd, 'a strick plain man' of a plot to kidnap him at a dinner party to be given by Captain Hastings on board the Woolwich.

On 29th November news arrived 'that the King had declared for a free Parliament,' but it was, of course, too late. Dartmouth, however, was not deterred from sending his letter begun the day beforehand urging this measure, and on 1st December he and the officers of the fleet sent a resolution of thanks to the King. The Prince of Orange had now completely realised his project of negativing the offensive action of the English fleet, and it remained to be seen whether Dartmouth would bring it over to him as a whole or whether it would disintegrate and join him piecemeal. Meanwhile his own fleet, under Herbert, was able to enter Plymouth unopposed and so secured a first-class base.

Only a few days later Byng was again concerned in an exciting piece of work on behalf of the Prince of Orange, for on 2nd December Lord Dover, the acting-Governor of Portsmouth, told Dartmouth that the King had decided to send his infant son to France *via* Portsmouth.

Dartmouth refused to countenance the scheme, alleging that to remove the Prince of Wales secretly from the country at such a juncture would be a highly unconstitutional proceeding. He therefore instructed certain of his officers to

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prevent it and chose for his purpose the staunchest Orangemen, well knowing that they would carry out such a duty with enthusiasm. The writer of the *Memoirs* suggests that the Orange party in the fleet forced Dartmouth's hand by discovering the scheme themselves and then representing to him his responsibility to the nation supposing he allowed the infant to be taken from the country at such a moment. It seems more likely, however, that the officers in question were really used by Dartmouth as his tools, knowing as we do his own abhorrence to the scheme and his fear that it would embroil the country in continuous war with France, which it did.[1]

On Dartmouth refusing his co-operation the King gave up the scheme and decided to bring his son back to London. In any case it is difficult to imagine how he could have succeeded, for at least four ships were specially deputed to watch the entrance to the harbour, while Byng and Captain Cornwall were patrolling the waterside in armed boats. The officers commanding the ships were Aylmer, Hastings, Rooke and Shovell, a combination of talent and zeal sufficient to have frustrated most schemes of the kind. Byng and Cornwall to make sure of their quarry decided to go a step further and took it in turn each night to reconnoitre in the town itself and meet at intervals on the town wall.

On 3rd December Cornwall reported to Dartmouth that the Prince of Wales was about to sail for St. Malo in the Mary Yacht. Nothing happened,

[1] See *English Navy in the Revolution of 1688*, chaps. v and vi.

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however, and on the night of 5th December it being Cornwall's turn ashore 'he observed a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's house, where the Prince [of Wales] was lodged, and who was then on the staires going to embark.' Seeing the captain of the yacht destined for the scheme hurrying to the waterside he tried to get some information from him and failing to do so returned to watch the house and found there a coach and six, belonging to the Duke of Powis, Governor of Portsmouth. He adroitly went up to the horses and felt their legs which proved to be dry, 'which made him conclude it was not a coach come in but going out of town.' [1]

He quickly called Byng and they watched the infant Prince drive off in the coach for London. Dartmouth's resolution and show of force had been successful in preventing the King temporarily from committing a first-class constitutional and political blunder.

The writer of the *Memoirs* further adds that it was just as well that the incident terminated in the way it did as Byng and Cornwall might have encountered violent resistance, 'by the yacht having on board several grenadiers.' [2]

On returning to his ordinary duty Byng was extremely annoyed to find that the command of a sixth-rate which had fallen vacant during his absence had been given to another, despite Dartmouth's previous promise to give him the very next captaincy.

He therefore protested violently, refusing the

[1] *Memoirs*, pp. 33 and 34. [2] *Ibid.*

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mediation of Admiral Carter and Dartmouth's offer of a fireship, and threatened to go ashore to rejoin his regiment. Doubtless this threat was mere bluff, made in order to wring preferment out of Dartmouth who dare not offend such a powerful junior and quickly rewarded him with the command of the Constant Warwick, an excellent fourth-rate, and obviously the most desirable piece of patronage then at Dartmouth's disposal.

On the night of 11th December the amazing news reached the fleet that not only the baby Prince, but also the King and Queen had left the country and that therefore the reign was virtually at an end. Next morning, the occasion being judged proper, Dartmouth found the Prince of Orange's letter on his 'toilett.' Faced with this utter collapse of kingship, to which he was bound by the strongest ties, and also with this new appeal on behalf of 'the Protestant religion and the liberties of England,' Dartmouth unhesitatingly agreed to hand over the fleet to the Prince of Orange and to co-operate with Admiral Herbert. The next day at a council of war the majority of the officers of the fleet eagerly endorsed his decision and deputed Aylmer, Byng and Hastings to carry their own and Dartmouth's submission to the Prince of Orange.

Byng again had some minor adventures. The three officers avoided Portsmouth and had themselves rowed in boats to Chichester, but at Midhurst they were seized by zealous Protestants on the suspicion of being Irish Papists. A witness was even produced who swore that Byng was an

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Irish priest and that he had often heard him say mass in the Queen's chapel. As their real identity and mission was deemed too important to disclose they were rather at a loss what to do next, but at last wrote to the Duke of Somerset at Petworth. The Duke, who was a strong Protestant, at once wrote back to the authorities of Midhurst to say that the officers were coming to visit him, and might be released, but even then the cautious Midhurstians insisted on accompanying them all the way 'and even went up with them into the Duke's bedchamber to be convinced they were his friends.'[1] Next day, 14th December, they safely delivered their letters to the Prince of Orange at Windsor.

As soon as he reached London the Prince set about rewarding the officers who had been most prominent in winning over the fleet. Aylmer received the Mary, a third-rate, in place of the Swallow, and Hastings the Essex, also a third-rate, in place of the Woolwich. Byng was offered the command of a company of foot, but chose instead 'to be cornett in the Earl of Oxford's regiment of blew guards,' as being 'more profitable,' it being clearly understood that in neither case would his presence ashore be required.

Meanwhile he was ordered to take the Constant Warwick over to Guernsey, in company with some other ships, destined to prevent any attempt against the island by the French, and after some uneventful cruising he returned to Spithead on 18th February, 1689.

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 35.

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VI

The War of the English Succession which immediately followed on King James's appearance as a supplicant and fugitive at the court of France, was actually no more than an extension of the bounds of the War of the League of Augsburg which had been in progress since 1686. By acquiring political control of England, William of Orange also acquired strategic control of the English fleet and its bases, and it therefore became Louis XIV's object to dislodge him as quickly as possible, otherwise the Anglo-Dutch Navy, operating from innumerable harbours, would be in a position to throttle French trade. It was well known that the ease with which William of Orange had established himself was no guarantee of his future security, and, relying on the intense confusion prevailing in the country at the moment, Louis decided to give whole-hearted support to the attempt of the ex-King James to win back his kingdom. James wisely decided to make his landing in Ireland, whose people, in the south at any rate, he had never irritated and who, although dubbed traitors by the English, could hardly do less than acknowledge him as their rightful king come to seek their aid in a national dispute, necessitating a strategic tour of his domains *via* France.

Byng took no part in the opening phase of the war, being employed during March in convoying merchantmen to Holland. Early in April he was appointed to command the Reserve, a

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fourth-rate, then at Portsmouth. He had no sooner manned and fitted her than Herbert, who had just returned from the Bantry Bay campaign, gave him a commission on 15th May to command the Dover, another fourth-rate, also lying at Portsmouth, with orders to join Sir Francis Wheeler's squadron at Plymouth. Byng left Portsmouth on 22nd May and cruised with Wheeler in the Soundings till 21st June, when they joined the main fleet under Herbert off the Lizard. The remainder of June and all July was spent in cruising off Brest, Byng being sent close inshore several times to discover the number and condition of the French ships. After cruising off the west coast of Ireland the fleet returned to Torbay on 31st August, Byng being ordered to clean at Plymouth and then to cruise with the St. Albans in the Soundings. While still employed on the same work he was nearly wrecked on 29th November through dragging his anchor in a great storm when lying off Plymouth. On 20th December Byng captured a 20-gun privateer after a running fight lasting six hours, in which the Dover was much damaged, and at the end of the year the whole fleet returned to Plymouth.

Meanwhile Admiral Herbert had been created Earl of Torrington by the grateful William of Orange, now firmly established with the Princess Mary as joint sovereign. The assumption of this title is of considerable interest seeing that it was also assumed by Byng, although only as a Viscount, five years after the Earl's death.

In the spring of 1690 the Dover was ordered

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to join a squadron under Shovell which was intended to preserve the communications between England and Ireland to cover the passage of the army destined for the relief of Londonderry and to prevent reinforcements reaching James's army. After being employed on this service for nearly three months, Byng received orders on 20th May to go to Dover as quickly as possible and to take command of the Hope, a third-rate. Although this was a distinct promotion, the writer of the *Memoirs* represents him as being annoyed at 'leaving a cruising ship on a good station, to go into an unfurnished ship, tho' of a biger rate.' Nevertheless, he crossed at once from Hoylake and took post horses straight to London and sailed to join the combined Anglo-Dutch fleet at St. Helens on 12th June.

The author of the *Memoirs* has nothing to say about Byng's part in the Beachy Head campaign which followed, except that after the battle he and Captain Cornwall in the Suffolk were sent to take off the Vice-Admiral of Zealand and his crew and to burn his ship which was much injured and in danger of being captured during the retirement. During the action of 30th June the Hope was stationed in Rooke's division of the fleet.

After refitting, the fleet, commanded jointly by three flag-officers pending an enquiry into Torrington's conduct, returned to Spithead. There Byng was appointed on 2nd October to command the Duchess, of ninety guns, which had been Rooke's flagship at Beachy Head, and next to which he had fought in the Hope. The Duchess,

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however, was ordered to be laid up for the winter and was therefore paid off soon afterwards, so that Byng missed accompanying Marlborough to Cork and was unemployed for the rest of the year.

On 5th March, 1691, Byng was married in Covent Garden Church to Margaret, daughter of James Master of East Langdon, near Dover, and granddaughter of Sir Edward Master and Sir Christopher Turner. 'Which,' says the *Memoirs*, with a certain cryptic confidence, 'was accomplished by the means of the Countess of Newport and Mrs. Froud.'[1] He had already resigned his cornetcy in Lord Oxford's regiment to his brother John, who accompanied the forces to Ireland and was thus able to bring back to England their youngest brother Robert, who all this time had been living at Yaul, under the care of Mrs. Franklyn, a daughter of Lord Digby.

George Byng was now twenty-eight years old, and for thirteen years he had been engaged in the sea service during eight of which he had held a commission in the army. Although a man of considerable ancestry, his career was for some time hindered rather than helped by the conduct of his family, and it was not till he met his uncle, Colonel Johnson, entirely by chance at Tangier, that he really had a chance to show his extraordinary capacity for combining pursuit of the sea service with a discreet but dextrous interest in public affairs. Undoubtedly it was his uncle's introduction to Kirke which proved the turning-point in his career, for we cannot imagine that

[1] P. 52.

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in listening eagerly to the private conversation of elders he did not get a very clear hint as to the way events might turn out after the death of King Charles II. Thus, Kirke's overtures to him in 1688, through Aylmer, probably came as no surprise, and so, through Kirke's patronage and through his early insight into great affairs gained by listening to Kirke and his uncle in years gone by, he was able at the right moment to take his place amongst these veteran intriguers.

Early in 1691 he was appointed to command the Royal Oak, a third-rate, and served in the main fleet under Admiral Russell, who succeeded Lord Torrington in the command. Nothing however is said by the author of the *Memoirs* as to what he did during that year. The year 1692 was the most critical one of the war, for in it the French attempted to regain the control of the Channel which they had so curiously failed to exploit after the battle of Beachy Head. The Royal Oak, being fitted out very late, was not present at the action off Cape Barfleur and only managed to join the fleet afterwards in the bay of La Hogue. This may account for the author of the *Memoirs* making no allusion to the intrigue in the English fleet at the beginning of the campaign. This is most disappointing, seeing that the whole French conception of the campaign seems to have been based on the idea that the English fleet could be persuaded to stand aside and let James cross the Channel, while Tourville dealt with the Dutch.

On 26th July the Royal Oak was sent as part

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of a squadron under Sir John Ashby to try to intercept the French ships under d'Umfraville which had run through the race of Alderney to St. Malo. They met bad weather, however, and returned to St. Helens in August, Ashby being left in command of the fleet. On hoisting his flag in the Albemarle (90), he appointed Byng to be his second captain, but when he took a squadron to the west he left Byng at Portsmouth under Rooke, who on 27th September sailed for the Medway. Sir Ralph Delavall hoisted his flag in the Albemarle to go up from the Nore to Blackestakes, but in November she was paid off.

The deep intrigues which constantly hung round the command in chief of the English fleet at that time, now reached their usual annual crisis, resulting in the retirement of Admiral Russell, and the government again fell back on the temporary course of appointing three joint admirals. On 18th March, 1693, Killigrew, Delavall and Shovell were appointed to act together as commanders-in-chief. Shortly afterwards they paid Byng the great compliment of asking him to be their First Captain, 'a post which has the pay and rank of a rear admirall.' Presumably this meant that he would be expected to act as chief of staff and, with three heads to serve instead of one, would be in a fine position for influencing important decisions. Nevertheless, he refused this tempting offer of preferment, apparently out of regard for Russell. Most probably he realised that the triumvirate could only be a very temporary affair and that he would do better to

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proclaim his allegiance boldly to a man who he felt sure must return to power soon.

Byng apparently contemplated complete professional retirement at this stage for he resigned his commission, since having refused so pointedly such an important post it was the only course he could take. He retired to Everton in Bedfordshire and also bought some land at Southill, six miles away, where he began to build himself a house.[1] His astuteness in refusing to entangle himself with naval politics at the council table of the three joint admirals was quickly justified by a more than usually sudden turn in public affairs, for early in 1694 William dismissed his Tory ministers and Russell was reappointed commander-in-chief. Byng's refusal to accept promotion from other hands was now richly rewarded as he was appointed First Captain to Russell, flying his flag in the Britannia, the most influential post open to any officer below the rank of rear-admiral.

The task assigned by William to Russell was one of the most important yet given to an English flag officer, being no less than that of taking the main Anglo-Dutch fleet into the Mediterranean, supposing that the French fleet from Brest had also gone there. The strategic and international significance of this great project for an entirely new scheme of naval distribution has been admirably and exhaustively recounted by Sir

[1] He apparently moved to Everton to be near his relation Sir John Hewett, a descendant of his great-grandfather (*Memoirs*), but his wife's maternal grandmother was also connected with Southill (*Collins' Peerage*).

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Julian Corbett in *England in the Mediterranean*, chapters xxvi and xxvii. The results although not spectacular were singularly impressive, for Louis XIV was forced to abandon his project for capturing Barcelona, and Tourville withdrew the French fleet into the farthest recesses of Toulon harbour. But the presence of such an armament within the Straits and the new orientation of naval strategy which it implied was rendered even more important by William's insistence that the fleet must stay out till next year. Despite Russell's objections, William had his way, and during the winter of 1694–95 Cadiz became practically an English dockyard, personnel and stores being sent out from England and the United Provinces in quantities sufficient to maintain the whole fleet.

In the spring of 1695 Russell again entered the Straits and during the summer attempted combined operations against Toulon, but he was inadequately equipped for such a project and had yet to realise the exquisite ingenuity which enabled the Duke of Savoy to avoid fulfilling his engagements. In October Russell brought the first and second rates back to England, leaving the remainder at Cadiz under Sir David Mitchell. Little as Russell had relished his task, he had carried it out with loyalty and vigour, and it was only bad luck which denied him a proper fight with the French fleet, to emphasize his achievement. 'I cannot but think that you are at this time in much the considerablest station of any subject in Europe,' wrote Shrewsbury to him

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while in the Mediterranean, which was a very sound estimate of his influence on international affairs at the time. Moreover, before sailing from England William had appointed him First Lord of the Admiralty and he later received a commission as general in order to give him prestige and precedence amongst the Spaniards. It would be fascinating to know what part Byng played in making William's ambitious plans acceptable to his loyal but grumbling servant, but the *Memoirs* give nothing more than a general narrative of the movements of the fleet.

In February 1697 Russell was appointed to command the section of the main fleet lying in the Channel and again took Byng as his first captain and flew his flag in the Victory. The reason for this early mobilisation was the threat of a French invasion led by ex-King James. Whether the scheme was seriously intended or not is uncertain, but at any rate it achieved its main secondary object, which was to cause the English and Dutch ships wintering at Cadiz to be sent home. Thus, Louis relieved pressure in the Mediterranean, and the great strategic experiment came temporarily to an end. Russell demonstrated on the French north-east coast and threatened raids and bombardments, but attempted nothing serious, and in March James left Calais and broke up his army and the English fleet returned to home ports.

Immediately after his return Byng was appointed one of the Principal Officers and Commissioners for Registering Seamen. This brought

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him in £300 a year, a useful addition to his income. It was, moreover, a distinctly lucky appointment, for with the war drawing to an end permanent administrative posts would be obviously much sought after. For two years Byng and his colleagues struggled with the problem of manning the fleet, with the inadequate technical and professional means at their disposal, and were then informed by the Navy Board that they could do the job better themselves, whereupon in 1699 the Admiralty handed over the whole business to the Navy Board and discharged the commissioners for registering. Byng was now placed on half-pay which amounted to £320 a year, being the same as that of a rear-admiral, by virtue of his having been First Captain to an admiral of the fleet.

Meanwhile Lord Bridgewater had succeeded Russell at the Admiralty in 1699 and on 4th April, 1701, he was in turn succeeded by Lord Pembroke, who had held the office from 1690–92. On 18th January, 1702, the King made yet another change by declaring Pembroke Lord High Admiral. This, the author of the *Memoirs* suggests was a temporary measure designed to concentrate power in Pembroke's hands with a view to introducing Russell again, now Earl of Orford, as First Lord. Pembroke, however, seems to have been unwilling to play a purely passive rôle, and wished to mark his assumption of the office of Lord High Admiral by going to sea and taking command in person. The War of the Spanish Succession being about to begin it looked as if his decision might land

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the government in an awkward position, as he was no seaman. They decided, therefore, to make Byng his First Secretary and First Captain at sea, both of them positions of novel and overwhelming importance. We know nothing of Byng's occupation between 1699 and this moment, but presumably he was now looked upon as the most trusted officer below flag rank. He, however, begged to decline the post of Secretary although he was willing enough to be First Captain, but this did not suit the King's advisers, who, led by Lord Orford, insisted on him holding both posts together.

On 8th March, 1702, the King died, and although the succession of the Princess Anne was fairly easily secured, it occasioned further upheavals in the government. One of the first results was the increased ascendancy of the Churchills. The Duke of Marlborough had already become William's most trusted instrument for carrying out his combined strategy, but with William's death he became virtual *generalissimo* of all the English and Dutch forces by sea and land. Consequently, Lord Pembroke was quickly removed from his office and the Queen's husband, Prince George of Denmark, appointed Lord High Admiral instead. Owing to his inexperience in naval affairs he was given a special council to advise him, which approximated almost exactly to a Board of Admiralty. Rooke was named one of its members and also Marlborough's brother, Captain George Churchill. This officer had thought himself entitled to a flag left vacant by the death of Admiral Carter in the battle of

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Barfleur, but found that both Aylmer and David Mitchell had prior claims. Aylmer was of the same seniority as Churchill, and Mitchell was five years their junior, but had held the post of first captain to Russell. The King had pressed Russell for an opinion on the matter and Russell had advised that Aylmer was the senior of the two, but notwithstanding the fact that Churchill's name was not even mentioned he chose to attribute his failure to obtain a flag entirely to Russell's influence, and therefore resigned. Through his brother's influence, however, he was appointed a member of the Admiralty on Lord Pembroke's Board, together with Mitchell, who had also served under Lord Bridgewater and was now a vice-admiral. Under Pembroke Churchill had little scope for his talent, but as soon as he became a naval councillor of Prince George of Denmark and was assured of his brother's support, he promoted himself without more ado to Admiral of the Blue. This bold manœuvre astonished and enraged his brother officers but gave him a very necessary authority for helping to execute Marlborough's far-reaching strategic designs.

We must now consider Byng's position in relation to this change in naval authority. He was on good terms with Marlborough's brother, General Charles Churchill, having been given a commission in his company of Trelawney's regiment many years before by Kirke. In this way he had become acquainted with Marlborough himself and he was also on fairly good terms with his brother George. But now there arose the

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difficulty of his being so closely associated with Lord Orford, who had refused to consider George Churchill for promotion. To begin with, however, all went well. Marlborough had previously congratulated him on his dual appointment under Pembroke, and a few days after the King's death explained to him that as Prince George was to be at the head of the Navy the appointments were unavoidably cancelled, but that Byng might ask for any preferment he chose. Byng replied that he was glad to be rid of the post of being Secretary to Pembroke and that 'his desires were confined within the limits of his own profession' and that therefore he wished, firstly, to have a flag. If, however, that proved impossible he would like to be a Commissioner of the Navy, for having been First Captain to Lord Orford he could hardly accept anything less.

Marlborough expressed himself surprised at the reasonableness of these requests and promised to do his best to obtain one or the other. Time passed and nothing happened, and Byng was informed that George Churchill was obstructing his preferment. He therefore went to see Marlborough and said that he desired no favours and would like to go on half-pay. Marlborough expressed himself surprised but agreed to get the half-pay for him. Nothing came of it, however, and Byng again attended Marlborough's levée and was told that he should have his half-pay before Marlborough left for Holland.

Marlborough also mentioned that there was an Admiralty council meeting in a few days, and

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that to be certain of being reminded about it Byng had better attend and send Marlborough in his name.

Byng attended and Marlborough as he passed in told him that it would be all right and that there was no need to wait, but he did wait and heard after from Lord Pembroke and the Duke of Somerset that 'his affair had not been mentioned.' Next day Byng called on Marlborough, who was busy, and calling again next morning found that he had already set out for Margate on his way to Holland. Byng at once decided to follow him, and starting that afternoon got as far as Canterbury that night. Next morning he got up early intending to go on to Margate, but soon met a messenger going to town with news that Marlborough had already sailed.

Thus ended Byng's first attempt to obtain preferment under the new regime and it left him in rather an awkward position. Pembroke's supersession from the office of Lord High Admiral meant that Byng was deprived of two lucrative positions and was unemployed but without receiving half-pay. Moreover, his recent appointments under Lord Orford forbade him accepting command of a private ship, so that as he could not obtain promotion to a rank in which he would feel able to serve he was faced with the threat of poverty and professional extinction.

He therefore took a new line and applied to Lord Godolphin, who promised to mention his case to the Queen at the next Privy Council

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meeting which discussed naval affairs. But meanwhile he was summoned to Prince George's naval council and offered the command of a private ship which, however, he refused as beneath his dignity. Godolphin then reported that George Churchill and Lord Nottingham had strongly opposed any concession to him by the Privy Council on the grounds that he was trying to force the government to accept him on his own terms. Nevertheless, Godolphin had persuaded the Queen to have an order made out for Byng to be given his half-pay. This order was due to be signed at the next Privy Council which Byng attended in order to remind Lord Nottingham of it as he went in. Nottingham was duly accosted, and remarked somewhat shortly that he had the order in his hand, but when he reached the Council he proposed that it should be referred to the Prince's naval council, to which Godolphin could not object, though he was of opinion that the Queen could very well have signed it there and then. This, of course, was merely a ruse to get Byng into the hands of George Churchill, who refused to agree to the order being signed and repeated his demands that Byng should go to sea as a private captain.

Byng had now to choose between going to sea ' in a manner he thought inconsistent with his honour,' or else being dismissed the service without compensation. He therefore consulted with his friends, and particularly Lord Orford, and they sensibly remarked that he must consider whether he could afford to retire without half-pay and

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that if not he must swallow his pride and go to sea again as directed. Byng, however, decided to make one more personal application and this time he wrote direct to Prince George offering to submit himself entirely to the Prince's judgment. He was thereupon summoned to the Prince's naval council and told that he must go to sea again as a private captain, but that he might have command of any ship he chose. He replied that as it was the Prince's order he was indifferent to the class of ship and would as soon command a sixth as a first-rate. The council then gave him a list of ships to choose from, but he refused to make any choice and therefore by an order of 26th June, 1702, he was directed to take command of ' the first ship vacant fit for him to command, according to his seniority.' This turned out to be the Nassau, a third-rate ship of the line, but he was to have command of a squadron ordered to watch Dunkirk. His commission was dated 29th June, but while the Nassau was cleaning at Portsmouth he received fresh orders to put himself under Sir Clowdisley Shovell who was to command a squadron cruising to the westward, the war with France having already begun.

Thus ended Byng's final attempt to obtain preferment and which owing to his lack of private means did not result in his retirement, which would have been an immense loss to the navy and the nation.

The whole story of these intrigues which succeeded the death of King William is taken from the *Memoirs*, which give what appears to be a

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very truthful picture of Byng as a man of unbounded ambition held in restraint by personal pride and a deep sense of loyalty to colleagues.

VIII

The War of the Spanish Succession possessed certain political and geographical features which made the conduct of it a matter of peculiar difficulty, since the situation which resulted in Charles II of Spain having no heirs, except in the royal house of France and Austria, could only have arisen in a world which had applied renaissance dynastic policy to medieval feudal holdings in a most illogical manner.

Louis XIV, the Emperor Leopold and William III had made strenuous efforts to avoid the possibility of a Bourbon or a Hapsburg dictatorship by the first Partition Treaty. By this instrument they sought to give Spain and the Indies to the 'Electoral Prince' and to divide amongst themselves the remaining territories of Europe's 'Sick Man.' The Prince, however, died, and before any further treaty could be negotiated Charles died also. By his will he left the whole of the Spanish dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the second grandson of Louis XIV. To accept the will meant war on a great scale, but to refuse it also meant war on a great scale, since it was obvious that Louis would have to fight hard even to obtain that part of the inheritance which he was claiming in the proposals for a second Partition Treaty. For if Louis refused the gift on

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behalf of Philip, the whole Spanish Empire was to go to the Archduke Charles, the second son of the Emperor.

The territories at stake were Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Central and South America (less Brazil), Naples, Sicily, Milan, Elba and ports on the coast of Tuscany. The French, acting on interior lines, could easily invade such of these territories as were immediately adjacent to them and in effect that was all that they ever really attempted. In February 1701 the Elector of Bavaria, Governor of the Netherlands, surrendered Nieuport, Mons, Oudenarde, Charleroi, Namur, Ath and Luxemburg to the French, and the 'Barrier Fortresses' with their Dutch garrisons made prisoner no longer prevented an invasion of the United Provinces. Meanwhile, a French army appeared on the Rhine to co-operate with Bavaria and embarrass the Emperor, and French troops entered northern Italy. The Emperor now put forward the Archduke Charles as claimant for the throne of Spain at least, the division of the remaining territories being obviously a matter for diplomatic settlement after the French were beaten.

William III, who had all along been negotiating for an English naval base in the western Mediterranean, after fruitless attempts to recover the Barrier Fortresses for the United Provinces, committed both countries to war. In co-operation with the Emperor he formed the Grand Alliance, consisting of Austria, England, the United Provinces, Hanover, Prussia, the Palatinate and

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Denmark. Bavaria joined the French, while Savoy and Portugal remained neutral.

Besides the necessity for mastering one after another the outlying territories of the Spanish Empire, it was obviously of the greatest importance to both sides to obtain control of Spain. Though by no means a rich country, she possessed an immense coastline studded with excellent harbours, the control of which would give to either side the complete mastery of the western Mediterranean and a goodly share in the navigation of the Atlantic. The Netherlands were far richer per acre, Milan was the key to Italy, and Sicily in vigorous hands might become a nest of naval bases, dominating all trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean, but Spain, Europe's Peninsula, still remained as the prize without which neither side could be said to have won the war.

To neither side, however, was Spain enemy territory, but rather a country which had to be tactfully persuaded to accept one or other of the claimants. Being also a country where 'small armies are lost and large armies starve' it was essential to have the civil population friendly, and even Buonaparte found it impossible to cope with the national resistance of countless guerilleros. The conduct of the war in Spain was therefore subject to important political limitations which were never fully realised by either side. There is no doubt that the Spaniards had no love for the French, but they had still less love for the English, Dutch and Germans who came with ships and

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troops to assure them of the good intentions of the Archduke Charles. Rooke, Shovell, Leake and Byng were the obvious successors of Drake, Hawkins, Howard and Raleigh and were sent, together with the Dutch by a direct descendant of William the Silent. The French army, which included English and Irish Catholics was for some time commanded by the Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of the exiled King James II of England and Arabella Churchill, the sister of England's principal commander, while the English and allied troops in Spain were commanded by a French Huguenot who had entered the English service.

No wonder that, faced by these complicated calls upon their loyalty, the simple Spaniards failed to perceive in them the particular virtues of Philip or Charles.

IX

The Admiralty Instructions printed in this volume raise some interesting questions of naval strategy. In the first place, it is clear that these instructions were extremely well framed, so well framed in fact, that taking into account the difference in financial, material and technical resources of those days we may be tempted to doubt whether naval strategy has made any progress since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Prince George of Denmark, it will be remembered, had been appointed Lord High Admiral on

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20th May, 1702, but that owing to his inexperience of naval affairs he had been given a council to assist him in the execution of his office. This council which was an innovation in naval administration, performed practically the same function as that of a Board of Admiralty, the Prince, as the Queen's husband, being considered of too high rank to be named First Lord.

In view of the fact that all instructions issued in his name must have had their origin in this council, the membership of the council is worth considering in detail, and for 1702–07 it can be seen from the following table:—

Sir George Rooke	May	1702–April 1706.
Sir David Mitchell	May	1702–April 1708.
George Churchill	May	1702–Oct. 1708.
Richard Hill	May	1702–Oct. 1708.
James Brydges	March	1703–Feb. 1706.
Henry Paget	April	1704–Oct. 1708.
Sir Clowdisley Shovell	Feb.	1706–Oct. 1707.
Robert Walpole	Feb.	1706–April 1708.
Sir Stafford Fairborne	Feb.	1706–June 1708.

Shovell and Rooke cannot have been responsible for much of the council's work since they were employed at sea for a large part of the time during which they held office. Hill, Brydges, Paget and Walpole were civilians and Fairborne was only appointed in 1706. None of these could have had any great influence on the council's work. Sir David Mitchell, a thoroughly competent and experienced flag-officer, seems to have spent most of his time in travelling to and from the Hague as liaison officer between the English and Dutch Admiralties and was therefore not always available

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for consultations. We must therefore conclude that for the first four years the naval war was conducted by the only other permanent and naval member of the Council.

George Churchill, it will be remembered, had withdrawn from the service soon after the Barfleur-La Hogue campaign, but through the influence of his brother had been made a member of the Board of Admiralty. On joining the Prince's Council he at once contrived his own promotion to Admiral of the Blue, a somewhat irregular advancement for a substantive post-captain, and one which procured him the lasting hatred and jealousy of many of his professional contemporaries. The critics of the Prince's naval administration, and there were many, were practically unanimous in assigning to Churchill the chief blame for every apparent or alleged shortcoming. Subsequent investigators have blindly swallowed their assertions and have propounded the orthodox view, as expressed by Sir John Laughton's article in the Dictionary of National Biography, namely, that the naval war was conducted almost entirely by Churchill and that it was badly conducted. Sir Julian Corbett in *England in the Mediterranean* suggests that George Churchill was only an instrument for executing the naval side of the grand combined operations designed by his brother. This view, however, can only hold good for operations in which Marlborough was directly interested, and it must be admitted that there were many operations, notably those of commerce protection, over which he could not have sought to exercise

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any control at all. Was George Churchill mainly responsible for these? Undoubtedly he was, seeing that for six years he was on the Prince's Council and for most of that time its senior naval member.

The second question then remains, namely, were these operations conducted well or ill? An unprejudiced reading of the documents which follow would surely suggest that, considering the limited means at their disposal, George Churchill and his associates would have had little to learn from their more famous successors. Their fighting traditions were those of the Dutch Wars, and embodied the two chief contributions of previous generations to naval warfare, seamanship, taught by the Elizabethans, and tactical discipline, taught by the Republicans. Nelson was unborn, there was no great series of achievements to look back upon, and the Navy, that is to say the Royal Navy under State control, was still in its early youth. Uniforms and all the subtle implications which they suggest were still a matter of personal caprice, and men fought well enough at sea in buff, red, plum or snuff-coloured coats, while there was still a fashion in body armour.

The merchants clamoured for better protection of their commerce. In what war have they failed to do so? Storeships intended to nourish the Mediterranean campaign often arrived late at Lisbon. The marvel is that any storeships were sent and that they arrived at all. In fact, a great fleet was continuously employed on the coast of Spain and Portugal and maintained

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by a well thought out system of reliefs which up till that time had had no precedent in our naval strategy. The War of the Spanish Succession was the first of the great continental wars of alliances in which England attempted to play a vigorous and amphibious part and, despite gross failures and countless mistakes, its story reflects the greatest credit on those responsible for its conduct.

It must also be remembered that the English Navy fought under two most embarrassing difficulties. Firstly, the English succession question was still in the balance, which meant that loyalty had in many cases to be proved rather than assumed. Secondly, the English Navy had to depend on Dutch assistance, which meant that every operation in which they both took part had to be preceded by a council of war which was little less than an international diplomatic negotiation. Yet, despite the intrigues and faction fights which threatened at any moment to split the service from top to toe, and the immense tact and skill required to maintain the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, the English Navy, considering its limitations, did as well in this as in any subsequent wars. Nor was this due to the personal initiative of particular commanders. Rooke, Shovell, Leake and Byng were all men who knew how to act on their own initiative when necessary, and in that respect compare very favourably with Anson, Hawke, Rodney and Howe, but the reader of these Papers must all along be struck by the firmness with which the main lines

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of the operations were gripped by the Admiralty. We must therefore conclude that in a space of over two hundred years from the War of the Spanish Succession we have learnt less about naval strategy than we imagine, and that George Churchill, even if he received valuable assistance from Rooke, Mitchell and Fairborne, was something more than a rapacious and incompetent bird fancier. For if Churchill was not mainly responsible for the conduct of the war, who was? Plainly the only claims that have not so far been considered are those of the Permanent Secretary, Josiah Burchett, a protégé of Pepys and next to him the Navy's most renowned civil official. The Secretaries of the Admiralty have a long and honourable tradition, and the Navy owes to them more than is generally admitted, but while acknowledging Burchett's great services it can hardly be suggested that he did more than give literary and administrative coherence to the ideas of the Prince's naval advisers.

X

When Byng accepted the command of the Nassau in June 1702, it will be remembered that he was still showing real or simulated signs of petulance at his failure to obtain a flag. It is at this point that the Byng Papers begin, for although the bound volumes of actual correspondence only go back as far as 1703, the blank for his first year's service in the War of the Spanish Succession is luckily filled by the copies of his correspondence in his Order Book.

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His first cruise with Shovell was a tame affair, but the *Memoirs* allege that Shovell himself so resented the smallness of his force that after consulting Byng, who was already in an irritated mood, he made a show of resigning on the grounds of indignity to his rank and was only dissuaded from doing so by a personal letter from the Queen. It can easily be imagined, therefore, that neither Byng nor Shovell put to sea in a very good temper, and that they were by no means appeased by the weather and the luck they encountered. For not only did they suffer much damage from storms and took only a few prizes, but they both missed by only a few hours the main attack on the treasure fleet at Vigo. Naturally, however, nothing of this appears in Shovell's instructions, which are as clearly expressed as the complicated function of his force would permit. They betray, moreover, a precision of form and phrasing which shows that a common method of writing instructions had already been established for the whole navy.

Some very interesting comments on the Vigo Bay operations are made in the *Memoirs*, where Byng is represented as saying that if Château-Renault had tied his ships head to stern alongside the boom it would have presented a more formidable obstacle than with the ships lying further back in the harbour.

The whole affair is described as 'this accidental action, owing to the greatest chance imaginable,' which thus 'prevented a strict enquiry into the mismanagement he [Rooke]

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had been guilty of,' [at Cadiz]. The writer is clearly echoing Byng's conventional censure of Rooke, as a Tory.

Although Byng might be said to have a rather indifferent year, being unemployed for the first half of it and missing by a few hours the only important operation in the second half, he had certainly made use of his one opportunity. For it will be seen that although he arrived at Vigo too late for the main attack, he was able to make himself very useful to Rooke in the "mopping up" operations, and was appointed by Fairborne to superintend the re-embarking of the Duke of Ormonde's troops.

The exceptional initiative which he showed on this occasion was soon rewarded, for on 1st March, 1703, he at last received his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Red and was appointed to the fleet destined for the Mediterranean. Shovell was appointed as its commander-in-chief, Rooke thinking it 'too small for his character,' and Fairborne was the Vice-Admiral and second-in-command of the English contingent, the Dutch contributing a squadron under Van Almonde. While waiting for the combined fleet to get ready Byng was sent on a short cruise off Dunkirk and hoisted his flag in the Ranelagh (80), and on his return to Portsmouth just before the fleet sailed was presented with the freedom of the town.

Although, as is suggested in the introductory note to the operations of 1703, Byng's special mission to the Dey of Algiers was not entirely successful, he certainly justified his reputation as

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a skilled and tactful negotiator. The *Memoirs* contain such a complete account of these transactions and quote the actual wording of Byng's instructions so closely, as well as the remarks made by Consul Cole, that on these grounds alone it would be sufficient to say that the author had had access to the documents printed in this volume.

The *Memoirs* also give a graphic account of Byng's experiences in the storm which was responsible for the destruction of thirteen men-of-war lying in the Downs and the irreparable damage of many more. Byng's squadron struck the full force of the gale just after passing the Lizard, which, blowing from the south-west, drove the Ranelagh up Channel and stripped off her foresail. On this she broached to with six feet of water in the hold, a middle tier gun adrift and the chain pump broken. A seaman, however, went below and repaired the pump at great risk to himself, and for which he was 'rewarded with a gunner's warrant.' Pumping and bailing continued incessantly, and Byng is recorded as retiring to his cabin 'quite spent in the fatigue he had undergone' and despairing of saving the ship, when Lieutenant Davenport entered and suggested the issue of brandy to the crew if there was any available. Byng at once produced some of his own, Davenport doled it out, 'the men acquired fresh spirits' and the ship was saved. The *Memoirs* conclude the account of the year with some pithy reasons for the comparative failure of the Mediterranean expedition. These

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reasons have been carefully considered by Sir Julian Corbett and are embodied in his strategic criticism of the year 1703 in *England in the Mediterranean*.[1]

It is much to be regretted that the Byng Papers are not nearly so full of material for the year 1704 as might be expected, especially as the *Memoirs*, in the printed version, devote sixty pages to it, over one-third of the book. It seems almost certain therefore that many of Byng's instructions for this year must have been abstracted from the collection, possibly by the author of the *Memoirs*, and never afterwards replaced. The papers most obviously missing are those dealing with the capture of Gibraltar and the battle of Malaga, which are of course the chief episodes of the campaign. There is the very noteworthy admission in the *Memoirs* that at the council of war held on 17th July when it was finally decided to attempt Gibraltar, Byng opposed the project, he and others thinking 'lightly' of it. We are then told that Rooke insisted on the attack (probably through the strong support of Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt) and detailed Byng to lead it. 'To which Admirall Byng replied in a manner consistant with a soldier on whom he bestowed a mark of his favour; tho' it is thought Sir George meant as he spoke it in a pique.'[2]

Byng's personal share in the bombardment and landing are explained at considerable length in the *Memoirs*, but they contain no details of

[1] Chapter xxx.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 137.

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special interest and must be studied in connection with *England in the Mediterranean*, chapter xxxi., where all the evidence is co-ordinated in masterly fashion, and also in Professor Callender's *Life of Sir John Leake*, where another narrative is given, written from a personal point of view.[1] On the subject of the battle of Malaga, the *Memoirs* remark that Byng, commanding a division in the centre, was worried by the Dutch, who took the rear, failing to get into action soon enough. They also state that later in the action some Dutch ships hit some ships in his division by attempting to fire over them. Taking into account, however, the author's previous assertion that Lord Torrington was sacrificed after Beachy Head to appease the Dutch for their unequal losses, it is fairly certain that this type of criticism is all part of a general irritation felt by the English navy at being permanently tied to naval allies who had a will and an ability of their own. A picturesque incident is mentioned by the author, of Byng attempting to go on board Toulouse's flagship during the night, mistaking her for Rooke's.

On his return home in October 1704 Byng received the honour of knighthood from the Queen, two days after landing. This, the *Memoirs* explain, was quite unexpected by him, but was engineered by his friends. On 18th January, 1705, he was promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and his employment during the year, although

[1] Some of the material most obviously missing from the Byng Papers can be conveniently read in the *House of Lords MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com., vol. vi., New Series, 1912).

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neither exciting nor distinguished, must have been extremely profitable in prize-money. By August, however, he was feeling the effects of continuous service in the Channel and obtained leave to hand over the command of his squadron to Sir John Jennings. During the summer he received the additional distinction of being elected member of Parliament for Plymouth.

That winter the government was confronted with the difficulty of providing sufficient men for the Navy. The strain of the war was being felt in countless directions, and there seemed every likelihood of it continuing for another ten years. On 18th December, therefore, the House of Lords appointed a Select Committee ' to inquire into the present state and condition of the navy ' and particularly into the manning question. Next day the Committee met, with Lord Torrington in the chair, and agreed to ask the opinion of several senior officers. Byng was requested to attend the Committee together with Churchill, Shovell, Fairborne and Jennings, and on 14th January, 1706, he and Churchill and Shovell gave evidence. Asked what was the chief difficulty about the manning, they answered that neither the offer of a bounty nor the application of the press proved effective, since ' the merchants give such great wages,' and that the coal trade was now absorbing active seamen, whereas previously it used to supply them. A further difficulty was mentioned, being that the ' colliery ' ' lend them [seamen of under 30] to the merchants, and we cannot meddle with them.'

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Shovell proposed that the Act whereby the coal trade had special privileges in obtaining apprentices should be altered. Byng, with his previous experience of the problem, was in favour of 'a forced registry.' A bill to deal with the situation was carried soon afterwards.[1] Byng's personal interest in the subject is obvious from the number of references to it in the documents selected for publication, and Leake's biographer went so far as to accuse him of nearly causing the fall of Barcelona in 1706, by delaying his start from Portsmouth in order to collect a picked crew for the Royal Anne. In the *Memoirs*, too, there is a reference to his pleasure at getting command of the Ranelagh again in 1705 and having promised 'those men that they should go with him in whatever ship he went.'[2]

Byng had meanwhile been appointed commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, but in the spring of 1706, owing to a threatened French concentration against Barcelona, he was ordered to Lisbon, and so, after a year's interval, returned to the main area of the naval war.

The capture of Gibraltar could not, of course, be looked upon as an end in itself; it was merely a preliminary to employing the Anglo-Dutch fleet within the Straits more aggressively. But even before this result was achieved it had been obvious that combined operations on an extensive scale

[1] For Byng's share in this business see *House of Lords MSS.* vol. vi., *1704–6* (Hist. MSS. Com., New Series, 1912), pp. 386–7.

[2] P. 174. See also *House of Lords MSS. 1704–6*, p. 125, *House of Lords MSS. 1706–8*, p. 522, where Byng is stated to have been called on again to give evidence on 29 Dec., 1707.

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would be necessary if the Archduke Charles was to be established at Madrid. The first step therefore was for Rooke to land the Archduke in person at Lisbon, to which a small Anglo-Dutch force of troops was also sent. In company with the Portuguese they operated on the Spanish frontier under the command of the third Duke of Schomberg, but without success. Soon afterwards Lord Galway was also appointed to the command, but as he only held it alternately for a week at a time, little was achieved, and the campaign for 1704 proved a complete failure.

Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, first Earl of Galway, was a typical product of seventeenth century politics and warfare. He had been an aide-de-camp to Turenne and had been employed diplomatically in England by Louis XIV, but being a Huguenot he had, like so many others, been antipathised by the king's policy and had migrated to England with his father, who settled at Greenwich. He was now recognised as one of the foremost soldiers in the English service.

Meanwhile, in May 1705, Shovell sailed to the Mediterranean, accompanied as 'Joint Admiral' by Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, an eccentric personage, of great general but no particular capacity. He was not a naval officer. The 'Joint Admirals' took out 6500 English and Dutch troops, and managed to collect two regiments of dragoons from Galway at Lisbon and six battalions from Gibraltar. The combined operations within the Straits opened brilliantly, Barcelona, Denia and Tarragona were captured

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and the Archduke was able to walk about in his kingdom behind his screen of international troops.

The year 1706, however, was an anxious one for the Allies. Peterborough's exuberance led him into a series of extraordinary exploits, in which he managed to capture Valencia and to confuse and bamboozle several enemy generals, but meanwhile Marshall Tessé and Admiral Toulouse were closing in on Barcelona. There is no doubt that Peterborough showed ability in two respects. Firstly, he was an adept at striking at the enemy's morale by using tricks carried out by his intelligence service. In this respect his methods of fighting resemble those employed by certain present-day commanders in China. Secondly, he saw the supreme importance of conciliating and winning over the powerful Spanish clergy. In other respects it seems that he would have done better had he possessed some practical experience in the ordinary methods of land fighting. Leake and Byng, however, came to the rescue, and in May Barcelona was relieved.

Meanwhile Galway, by the exercise of the most patient strategy, had advanced from Portugal to within striking distance of Madrid, despite the loss of an arm while besieging Badajoz. He was opposed by the Duke of Berwick, an equally resolute and an equally international personage. In June 1706 Madrid capitulated to Galway, Prince Philip of Anjou, the French candidate, being forced to retire to Burgos. In July Peterborough also advanced on Madrid *via* Saragossa, taking the Archduke with him, but through failure to

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co-operate properly with Galway he allowed Berwick to re-enter Madrid and to reinstate Philip. After this disaster Galway withdrew the allied forces to the southern coast and occupied Valencia, while Peterborough went over to Genoa, where he negotiated, entirely on his own initiative, a loan for the Allies of £100,000, on what was considered by the government to be the most ruinous terms.

In 1707 Peterborough was recalled to England. It is unnecessary to go into the controversy about his conduct raised by the spurious *Memoirs of Captain Carlton* and the works of Stanhope and Macaulay and, more recently, by Colonel Parnell and Brig.-General Ballard, but it is clear that his importance as a practical soldier has been largely over-emphasised. Galway was now left in command and attempted to dispute the control of Murcia with Berwick, who had followed him up from Madrid, while the Archduke consolidated his position in Catalonia. The Allies already held most of the important towns on the coast, and in January 1707 Galway received 6900 troops originally destined for a combined attack on Cadiz. He occupied Villena and then moved towards Almanza with the object of defeating Berwick in a pitched battle before he could be joined by the Duke of Orleans, who was bringing reinforcements. The battle was fought on $\frac{14}{25}$th April and ended in a crushing defeat for the Allies. Galway had 15,000 men, of which half were Portuguese infantry and cavalry and therefore of little value. One third were English and

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the remainder were Dutch, Germans and Huguenots, mostly infantry. Berwick had 25,000 men, half French and half Spanish. The behaviour of the Portuguese did not leave the battle long in doubt and at the end of two hours Galway had to retire as best he could.

Such is the outline of events on land which formed the background to the operations in which Byng was concerned. It will be noticed that when once Barcelona had been captured the Allies were able to hold Catalonia fairly easily, where they received the full support of the civil population. The same separatist tendency manifests itself in that province to-day, where the independent energy of its inhabitants and the progress of the great city of Barcelona itself are as much a protest against inefficiency elsewhere as they are a manifestation of a selfish particularism.

Interest next centres on Marlborough's ambitious design for the combined attack on Toulon, which, although a failure, at least showed that Russell's successors were come to stay and that in future the French must reckon on English ships continually menacing their Mediterranean harbours and trade routes.

Sir Julian Corbett's summary of the 1707 campaign is particularly interesting,[1] and as England becomes more and more absorbed in this and similar projects the question naturally arises as to whether, supposing such great fleets were to be raised, they could not have been employed more profitably, for England, in some

[1] *England in the Mediterranean*, chap. xxxii.

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other sphere. Those who wish to follow up this idea can do so in an entertaining fashion in Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, although they must not expect to find the real truth amidst such an ingenious orgy of special pleading.

Shovell's tragic death left Leake and Byng as the two most senior officers on the active list, and the last document printed in the volume shows that Byng, having gained in prestige by efficiency and discretion, was again ready to try a fall with the Churchills. He was now in a stronger position than previously, and his request was not to be denied, so that on 26th January, 1708, he was promoted to be Admiral of the Blue.

In accordance with the rules of the Society the documents printed in the main body of the text have been reduced to modern spelling, with a consequent loss in character and picturesqueness. Names of ships have also been altered, in most cases, to a more modern form, while names of persons have been made to conform to the spelling in the Dictionary of National Biography. Names of places have also been altered except in cases where the original form or spelling was a well recognised usage and of special significance. It will be noted that Forne Head, frequently referred to in instructions for Channel cruises, is the extreme north-west point of the Breton coast, off Portsall and Kersaint.

In conclusion, I wish to tender my most grateful thanks to Lord Strafford for his courtesy and kindness without which the work of editing the manuscripts would have been impossible. I am

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also deeply indebted to Professor Callender for his constant assistance and encouragement and for information on innumerable details. I must also thank Mr. W. G. Perrin and his staff at the Admiralty Library for undertaking the major part of the transcription work for this volume. Lieutenant-Commander J. H. Owen has read through a large number of the documents and has made some important suggestions in connection with them, which I have made good use of and for which I am particularly grateful. He has also supplied me with some important supplementary information, chiefly from the Norris Papers in the British Museum, which I have incorporated in my Introductory Notes. The portrait of Byng reproduced as a frontispiece to this volume is probably the earliest of the three portraits of him by Kneller, the other being in the possession of Lord Strafford at Wrotham Park. I hope to discuss the whole question of the Byng portraits in a succeeding volume.

It will be noticed that the dates are in the Old Style, unless otherwise mentioned. The New Style was used by British commanders of land forces when operating on the Continent for the sake of convenience, since all States in western Europe had adopted it by 1700. The official year still began on 25th March, succeeding, but by 1700 it was already customary to use double figures for the dates 1st January to 24th March, inclusive.

Extra biographical notes will be found in the index, for which I am solely responsible.

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PART I

1702
CRUISE IN HOME WATERS
AND
COMBINED OPERATIONS
AT VIGO BAY

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

AFTER spending the first six months of 1702 in fruitless attempts to obtain a flag, or alternatively to retire altogether with a certainty of half-pay, Byng at last agreed to go to sea again as a captain in any ship that was offered him. On 29th June he was appointed to the Nassau (70), then in dock at Portsmouth, and on 21st July received instructions from Shovell to join him in Torbay.

Sailing from Spithead on 26th July he joined Shovell next day, and on 28th July was ordered to take the Russell and Dragon under his command, and to cruise between Start Point and Fornehead[1] in order to obtain intelligence of enemy movements. Returning to Plymouth on 7th August with three prizes he was met by Shovell, who sent him off again to cruise with his squadron near Cape Clear, 'upon information that 2 French men of war 2 privateers lay there'[2] (Byng's instructions of 8th August). Meanwhile he was to co-operate with Shovell, who gave him two rendezvous at which they were to meet. (See Byng's instructions, 10th August, and his sealed directions, same date.)

Byng's squadron met heavy weather off the French coast, the Russell being damaged and having to return to Plymouth; but the Nassau and Dragon captured two prizes, with which they returned to the English coast, meeting Shovell off the Lizard on 20th August. Byng was ordered to take his prizes into Plymouth, and then to get to sea again and join Shovell as quickly as possible.

[1] The author of the *Memoirs* confuses these two names together and describes them as 'the Stone head.' See *Memoirs*, p. 88.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 88.

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Meeting Shovell again on 23rd August, Byng was told to take the Dragon and cruise to the westward of Shovell's squadron, and was warned, somewhat menacingly, not to lose touch (instructions of 26th August).

On 28th August, Shovell held a council of war to consider the best station for the squadron, with a view to intercepting Château-Rénault's squadron from the West Indies. It was decided to remain on the same station, and after some fairly uneventful cruising, in which a few prizes were captured, Byng lost Shovell in thick weather and returned to Spithead on 21st September, where he found Shovell already arrived.

Shovell was at sea again by 29th September, leaving Byng instructions to follow him (28th September) as his ships required refitting and watering. Byng sailed next day, 30th September, but instead of finding Shovell, who had sent him a fresh rendezvous on 7th October, he came up with the main fleet under Sir George Rooke to the south of Cape Finisterre on 10th October. Rooke was about to make his grand attack on the Spanish treasure fleet lying in Vigo Bay, protected by Château-Rénault's squadron, and Byng begged to be allowed to join him. But Rooke insisted on Byng going to find Shovell, despite Byng's argument that he was unlikely to find Shovell in any case, and that the Nassau would be a useful addition to Rooke's fleet.

Next day he found some of Shovell's squadron off Cape Finisterre, and leaving three of them to keep a look out for Shovell and to tell him to join Rooke, chased back to Vigo with the other five. They arrived on the evening of 12th October, only to find that the attack had already begun; but Byng, determined not to be left out of it, took a boat up the harbour and boarded Rooke's flagship to report himself. His energy was well rewarded, for Rooke being ill in bed sent him to go and help Sir Stafford Fairborne in completing the work of destruction and burning.

Next morning Rooke sent Byng to post two warships under the islands of Bayonne to deal with any enemy ships approaching the harbour, and on his return sent him

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ashore to make arrangements with the Duke of Ormonde for re-embarking the army. Byng had now established himself as an unofficial but indispensable staff officer, and was deputed by Sir Stafford Fairborne, on 16th October, to superintend the whole business of re-embarking the troops, in which business he proved himself 'very diligent.'

Rooke sailed for England on 19th October, leaving Shovell, who had arrived on the 15th, to bring home the prizes. On 21st October, therefore, Shovell instructed Byng to cruise off Vigo with three ships to intercept certain French warships and merchantmen said to be nearing the harbour.

Byng's squadron engaged a French warship and captured a merchantman, but on 26th October Shovell with the main fleet was seen heading for England and Byng joined him. The weather grew very bad, and the fleet, consisting of over seventy ships, became scattered. The Nassau received some damage during the voyage home, and at times was widely separated from the remainder, but reached Spithead on 12th November at the same time as Shovell. Byng was then ordered to go into Portsmouth and to refit.

NOTE:—Certain proper names which require identification and are not accompanied by a note in the text can be referred to in the index.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed immediately on your coming out hither to apply yourself to the flag or commander-in-chief here, to put your ship in a condition as to men for the sea, and as soon as that is done to proceed without loss of time to Torbay, where if you do not find me, or any other directions, you are then to cruise between the Start and the Fornehead, and there take the Dragon under your command, and endeavour to get the best account you can of the preparations and posture of the enemy, and if you shall meet with any material intelligence, you are to make the best of your way to Plymouth, or the first port you can reach and give the Secretary to his Royal Highness an account thereof by express, and if you find no orders for you there to the contrary, you are then to return forthwith to your station.

Dated on board the Queen at Spithead, July 21.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed to take with you Her Majesty's ships the Russell and Dragon, whose commanders are to observe and follow your orders, and forthwith to proceed and cruise with them in a station near Cape Clear in Ireland, but in case the winds be so that you cannot get there, you are then to cruise in such other station, as you shall think may be most for Her Majesty's service, and if you get any material

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intelligence, you are to give account thereof to the Secretaries to His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral by express from the first port you can reach; or if in your cruise you meet any homeward bound merchant ships you are to see them in safety into the first port you can in England or Ireland; but you are to take particular care so to dispose your cruise as that you may join me between the Lizard and the Fornehead by the nineteenth or twentieth of this month at furthest, where if you do not find me you are to call in at Falmouth, if you can conveniently for further orders; but in case you cannot or that you do not meet any orders there for you, you are then to open the sealed directions you will herewith receive and observe them for your further proceedings.

Dated on board the Queen in Plymouth Sound, August 8th, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

The place of rendezvous till the twentieth of this inst. August is between the Lizard and the Fornehead, where if you do not come time enough to join me; you are then but not before to open the sealed directions you receive herewith, and at your peril to keep the same private, but if by reason of bad weather or any other accident, you cannot continue in your station or keep the sea, you are then to go to Spithead for your security. Dated on board the Queen in Plymouth Sound, 10th August.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

After the twenty-sixth of this inst. August, I will cruise from 20 to 40 or 50 leagues S.W. and W.S.W. from Ushant, whither you are to repair to join me, and at your peril to keep private this cruising station ; and if you do not find me there, you are to cruise in that station till the 15th of September and then go to Spithead, unless you receive orders to the contrary. Dated on board the Queen in Plymouth Sound the tenth August, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed to take with you the Dragon and make the best of your way to Plymouth : and when you have delivered up your prizes, and got such things as your ship and the Dragon are in want of, in which you are to use all possible despatch : you are then together to make the best of your way and to join me in my station according to the rendezvous already given you : dated on board the Queen between the Lizard and Fornehead the 20th August, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Sir,—I would have you take with you the Dragon and soon after midnight (if it be not foggy or bad weather) to make sail and place yourself in such a station that at daylight you may be West about a league or more from me, and if in all the forenoon you see any ship or ships

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you have liberty to chase upon your making a signal how many sail you see, and my taking notice of your signal, and you are not to chase out of sight of me, unless you have great probability of coming up with your chase; for your losing company will be esteemed a matter of evil consequence: dated on board the Queen at sea August 26, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed to sail and keep company with the Shrewsbury, or any other ship where I shall hoist my flag, and you are to have recourse to the sealed rendezvous herewith given you, which you are not to open but in case of separation, and not even then unless you are to westward of the Lizard. Dated on board the Shrewsbury, at Spithead, September 28, 1702.

In case of separation the place of rendezvous is from 15 to 30 leagues W.S.W. from the Northward Cape, and you are at peril to keep private this cruising station.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

From 15 to 30 leagues W.S.W. from Cape Finisterre is the place of rendezvous till the 20th of this instant, and if after that day you separate from me, Spithead is the place of rendezvous.

Dated on board the Shrewsbury at sea, the 7th October, 1702.

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FROM SIR STAFFORD FAIRBORNE

His Grace the Duke of Ormonde intending to embark his army this afternoon at 4 o'clock from the place where the Dartmouth lies ashore and boats being already appointed from all the ships to repair thither about that time, you are therefore hereby directed to take upon you the command of all the boats and take care of the embarkation. Accordingly dated on board the Essex in Vigo harbour the 16 October, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed to take with you Her Majesty's ships the Revenge and Hampton Court, whose commanders are to observe and follow your orders, and forthwith proceed and cruise off this place in such station as you shall think fit; but to take care so to order your cruise as that you do return hither on Monday next, the 26 instant, and give me an account of your proceedings, and if I am not here you are then to endeavour to find me on my way to England, and follow me thither to Spithead.

Dated on board the Kent at Vigo, [21] October, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby directed and required to sail and keep company with Her Majesty's ship Shrewsbury or any other where I shall hoist my flag, and in case of separation the place of

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rendezvous is Spithead. Dated on board the Kent at Spithead October 24th, 1702.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed with the first opportunity of wind and weather to sail with the ship under your command into Portsmouth harbour, and there apply yourself to the Commissioner on the place for her being refitted and cleaned and when it is done and that you have got on board again your guns stores and provisions, you are then to return to Spithead, unless you receive my orders to the contrary; and you are from time to time to give to the Secretaries to His Royal Highness account of your progress in fitting your ship, as also when you are ready to come out of harbour, and of your arrival here: Dated on board the Shrewsbury at Spithead November 14, 1702.

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PART II

1703
THE MEDITERRANEAN CRUISE

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

On 1st March, 1703, Byng was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Red, and was appointed to be third-in-command of the English part of the Anglo-Dutch fleet which Sir Clowdisley Shovell took to the Mediterranean. Owing to the slowness of the Dutch and the difficulty of choosing an objective of first-rate importance, Shovell was unable to leave Spithead till 1st July.

His instructions were to prevent the French Toulon fleet from passing the Straits, to support the revolt of the Cevennois, to co-operate with the Imperialist forces in southern Italy, to protect trade and to win over the Dey of Algiers to the Grand Alliance. The possibilities and results of the cruise are admirably summarised in *England in the Mediterranean*, chapter xxx., and Byng's activities are fully described in the *Memoirs*.

The papers printed in this part have therefore been selected only with a view to illustrating certain items of special interest.

On 11th April, while fitting out his ships at the Nore, Byng, with his flag in the Ranelagh, received orders from Rooke to try to intercept de Pointis and his squadron which had captured some merchantmen.

Portugal in the meanwhile joined the Grand Alliance, and the 'Secret Committee' were particularly anxious that the French Toulon fleet should not pass the Straits and attack her before she was sufficiently prepared. Shovell, therefore, chose a position off Lisbon as his first rendezvous. It may be questioned, however, whether the French really stood any chance of surmounting the formidable navigational difficulties of the mouth of the Tagus, supposing the Portuguese meant business.

Some papers illustrating certain questions of victualling and discipline are also included, and interest then shifts to Byng's embassy to the Dey of Algiers.

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There can be little doubt, after reading the papers on the subject, that the negotiations were undertaken in a most unsatisfactory manner. For although it appears that the English Government considered the Dey's intervention against France to be an object of paramount importance, he was to be pestered with demands for limiting still further the predatory and proselytising habits of his subjects, while receiving no special concession in return. Those who visit the city of Algiers to-day and observe its peacefulness under French rule, and the prosperity of the country round, may well marvel at the way in which the Dey curtly dismissed the overtures of a first-class Power a little over two hundred years ago.

Naval commanders make good diplomatists when they hold all the trumps or none at all, but they are less successful when the cards are more evenly distributed. Possibly Byng is to be congratulated on having gained the concession for Plantation ships, but in any case he seems to have made a great mistake in not sending the Dey his presents at once, Consul Cole's letter about them being dated 26th October, and Byng having arrived on the 21st.

Returning in November, Byng luckily survived the disastrous storm, which ended an unsatisfactory year.

Lieut.-Commander J. H. Owen has supplied me with a very interesting sidelight on the difficulty of Byng's mission. While he was negotiating at Algiers, Shovell, with the remainder of the Anglo-Dutch fleet on 27th October, came up with an Algerine frigate of 26 guns somewhere near the Straits. The Dutch being then at war with Algiers, the Algerine captain brought his ship alongside Sir Andrew Leake, in the Grafton, and came on board her with his lieutenant and remained there, "till the Dutch were all past and then he [Leake] put them aboard their own ship and lett them go about their business." This scheme by which the Algerine "put himself under our protection for fear of the Dutch," was the subject of a previous arrangement between the English and Dutch governments, made specially at Shovell's request. (Shovell to Lord Nottingham, 17th November 1703, Add. MSS. 29591).

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FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

Whereas I am just now informed that Monsieur Pointis with a squadron of seven sail of French men of war fell in yesterday at two in the afternoon about twelve leagues East South East from Orfordness, with the Salisbury, and Adventure, and the Yachts, and a considerable number of Merchant Ships under their convoy from Holland, and it being suspected that the Salisbury and Adventure as well as several of the Merchant Ships are taken, you are hereby required and directed to sail with the ships named in the margin,[1] and cruise in the fair way between them and Dunkirk, using your best endeavours to intercept them, and upon Rear Admiral Beaumont's coming to that Station, you are to order the Winchester to join him, and to proceed with the rest of your ships to the Downs. For which this shall be your Warrant dated on board the Royal Sovereign off the Longsand Hd., April the 11, 1703.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas His Royal Highness does think fit that three women be allowed to go along with each Company of Marines, which shall be put on board the Fleet, you are hereby required and directed, pursuant to His Royal Highness his Orders, to give the necessary directions to the respective Commanders of the ships of the Squadron going

[1] Ranelagh (flagship) Lowestoft
Torbay Winchester.
Cambridge

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with me, that are, or shall come within your reach, to receive three women with each Company of Marines, and to victual them at the same allowance with their ship's companies during the time they shall be on board them. Dated at the Navy Office the 24th April, 1703.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Triumph, St. Helen's.
June 20, 1703.

Sir,—I have herewith sent you the disposal of the English and Dutch ships of our Squadron in the Line of Battle. I have only further to acquaint you that, in case of separation, our rendezvous is off the Rock of Lisbon, or at Cascaes; and if I am not at either of those places, that then they inquire of Her Majesty's envoy at Lisbon, or the agent at Cascaes, for where another direction shall be left for them. You have also herewith the Sailing and Fighting Instructions,[1] which at present is also from

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Triumph at St. Helen's,
June 21, 1703.

Sir,—I desire you will give directions to the several Commanders of the ships and vessels of your division to cause their respective companies

[1] No Fighting Instructions are included, only the line of battle and signals to indicate particular ships with which the Admiral wished to speak.

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to be put to six to four men's allowance, to commence on Thursday next the 24th June, of all species of provisions except beer, and to continue so till further order; also if any of the ships of your division are not now here, that you will give them such directions as soon as they join us.

I have herewith sent you a copy of an order that I have given the Captain of the Hospital Ship of my division, and which I desire you will from yourself give to those of your division, and that you will please to send me the account that is there required, together with the Weekly Account every Thursday, which will oblige,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

I having directed the Agent Victualler of the Fleet to consider the cost and charges of the wine lately bought at Lisbon for the victualling service of the Fleet, and to inform me how the price stands with relation to what Her Majesty pays at home for beer; and he represents to me that the said wine at one pint per man for a day comes not up to forty shillings per tun in beer, which is what the Commissioners of the Victualling often pay for beer; and I don't see that the incident charges, &c. of the wine can make it more, therefore to the end the seamen may have all one encouragement; I do hereby desire and direct you to give orders to the respective Commanders of Her Majesty's ships and vessels of your division, that when their ship's company have drank wine for a fortnight at six pints per man for a week at whole allowance as

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was directed they do then cause it to be issued to them at a pint per diem for a man at whole allowance, as long as this wine shall last.

Dated on board the Triumph,
August 13, 1703.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Triumph.
18th August, 1703.

Sir,—I begin to fear the Levant is set in again, and the Moorish Captain that is aboard the Somerset informs me there is a good watering place on the Barbary Shore, between Cape De Hone and Cape Tres Forcas. I desire you will make sail ahead with the ships in the margin,[1] if you find the wind continues Easterly, and view that place; and if it be a good anchoring place, and that we can have water there for the Fleet, that you will send off one of the ships to let me know it; and am

Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Triumph at Sea,
September 15, 1703.

Sir,—Captain Bumsted Commander of the Syam Hospital ship has often complained to me of the insolence and misbehaviour of his Surgeon, which I passed over expecting the Surgeon would grow better, but it seems he grows worse, and

[1] Ranelagh
Somerset
Mountague
Tartar
Postillion [Prize]

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Captain Bumsted tells me now that the Surgeon had the impudence to strike him last night, which is an insolence beyond bearing; therefore desire you will call the Captain and Surgeon before you, with the evidences on both sides, and examine into this matter, and if possible and that you think it reasonable make it up between them, provided you can be assured of the Surgeon's good behaviour and respectfulness to his Captain for the future; but if he does not give you a very good assurance of that, I don't see how we can preserve our discipline without bringing him to a Court Martial. And desire you will let me know what is done herein.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

By virtue of the power and authority to me given by Her Royal Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c. by her Commission under the Great Seal of England bearing date the 4th of May 1703.

I do hereby authorise and impower you George Byng Esq^re^ Rear Admiral of the Red Squadron of Her Majesty's Fleet, to renew and confirm in Her Majesty's name, the Treaties of peace and commerce, that have been concluded and agreed on, by any of the Subjects of Her Majesty's Royal Predecessors, between them and the most Illustrious Lords and Governors of the famous City and Kingdom of Algiers; but particularly those Articles of peace and commerce, concluded by Arthur Herbert Esq^re^ the 10th of April O.S. 1682,

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and ratified and confirmed by Sir William Soame the 5th of April O.S. 1686: And such other Articles and Agreements as have been since made with that Government, particularly those additional Articles made by Captain Munden and Consul Cole in August 1700. Given under my hand and Seal this 2nd of October, 1703.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas, by virtue of the power and authority to me given, I have authorised and empowered you to renew and confirm in Her Majesty's name, the Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded between her Royal Predecessors and the City and Kingdom of Algiers, with such additions, omissions or alterations as should be most expedient for Her Majesty's service, and the preservation and continuance of the Peace now between Her Majesty and the said Government; you have herewith a copy of the Confirmation of the Treaty of Peace concluded with Algiers by Captain Munden and Consul Cole in August 1700; and of some additional Articles concluded by them; and whereas the Treaty with Algiers has been renewed since Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, by Robert Cole Esq^{r}. Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General there, in general terms only, without mention of any Treaty in particular; and upon consideration of the Treaty with that Government, Her Majesty finds that Captain Munden confirming the Peace with Algiers, concluded the additional Articles before mentioned, and the second Article varying from what was formerly agreed on concerning Passes, it is Her Majesty's command that

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you endeavour to obtain that, instead of confiscating the goods, and restoring the Master, Men, and Ships in case of no Pass, pursuant to the second of those additional Articles; it shall be now declared and expressly agreed that in such case of no Pass, the ship shall be confiscated, and the Master may be detained, but all the other Seamen and Passengers shall be free, and that all the Goods shall be restored without any embezzlement.

And also that it be further agreed that all Prizes taken by any of Her Majesty's subjects, and all Ships built and fitted out in any of Her Majesty's plantations in America, that have not been in England, in both which cases, it being impossible that a Pass can be had, any of the said Prizes or Ships before mentioned, shall not be molested in case of no Pass. And you are to insert therein the second additional Article concluded by Vice Admiral Aylmer with Tunis the 16th May 1699, for preventing Her Majesty's subjects from being seduced to turn Turks, which is as follows, vizt:—

Whensoever it shall happen that any Subject of His Majesty's of Great Britain, &c. pretends to turn Turk in any place within the Dominions of Tunis, he shall be immediately sent to the English Consul's house, and there remain three days, and if in this time he does not recant, but continues in the same humour, and still desires to be a Turk, then the said Consul is to acquiesce, and have no more to say to him.

But in case you cannot prevail that, That Alteration before mentioned in case of no Pass,

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of Confiscating the Ships, and detaining the Master &c. be so agreed, you are to confirm it as it now is; as also the additional Article to hinder Her Majesty's subjects from turning Turks. In all other respects you are to renew and confirm in Her Majesty's name, the Articles of Peace and Commerce concluded by Arthur Herbert Esq[r] the 10th April O.S. 1682, and ratified and confirmed by Sir William Soame the 5th April 1686, as they are herewith given you:

And thereupon to make the Present which Her Majesty has ordered for that purpose, of which you have herewith an account, and will be delivered you by Mr. William Cole,[1] in whose custody they are.

And you are to use your utmost endeavours, by all possible means, to prevail with the said Government to declare war against France; and upon such Declaration of War, and seizure of prize, or other hostility actually committed against France, you are to assure that Government of a Present from Her Majesty of necessaries and furniture for their shipping, such as they shall desire, to the value of eight or ten thousand dollars.

Dated on board the Triumph in Leghorn Road, October the 2nd, 1703.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas you will herewith receive commission from me empowering you to renew and confirm

[1] Possibly a relation of the Consul's going to visit Algiers and referred to below as 'my kinsman."

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in Her Majesty's name, the Articles of Peace and Commerce, with the Kingdom of Algiers. You are in prosecution thereof to take under your command the five ships in the margin,[1] and keep with them to the Southward of the Fleet, and when we are got so low as the Island of Minorca, you are then to separate from us, and make the best of your way to Algiers, and there put in execution the Instructions you have for renewing and confirming in Her Majesty's name, the Treaty with that Kingdom. And you are to use your utmost care to have the same dispatched, and remain there as little time as possible; and when it is done you are then to follow and endeavour to join me in my way home; and you are if possible to call or send into Tangier, to see if any orders are there for you, as also at Lagos; and if you meet with none you are then to make the best of your way to England, and call in at Plymouth if you can, where if you find no orders you are then to proceed to the Downs; giving the Secretary of the Admiralty an account of your proceedings, for the information of His Royal Highness: for all which this shall be your Warrant. Dated on board the Triumph off of Leghorn, October 2nd, 1703.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM CONSUL COLE

Sir,—In this instant the Dey sent for me and informed me of a ship coming in out of the sea, which he supposes to be the ship from Bougie and in such case prays you not to violate the

[1] Ranelagh, Monmouth, Hampton Court, Torbay, Mountague

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Port which I leave to your wise consideration. The sooner I have the honour of seeing you ashore the better, this morning being appointed by the Dey to discourse the business you are come upon.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
Ro. Cole.

La Casa,
24th October, 1703.

FROM CONSUL COLE

Hon. Sir,—I am just going about the putting the Articles into Turkish, that the Dey may see they are what agreed, and having perused them a second time, I find you do me not the honour of making me a sharer with you in this advantageous negotiation, which with permission I think is my due, and supposing there can be no reason to the contrary I have put in my name, which I promise myself you will be contented with, otherwise the Dey will look upon me as a cipher, which will be of no credit to my post or person.

By the bearer my kinsman I entreat you to order Her Majesty's present,[1] which is designed for the Dey and our other friends in this Government ashore.

By ten o'clock my horse from my country house will be at the place appointed.

[1] A large handsome cabinet japanned, in a case.
An easy chair in a case.
A case containing a large table clock. Another containing three small ones.
Two gold watches. Two silver ones.
A box with double barrelled pistols.
A case with four eight square gun barrels.
A case with six perspective glasses.
A bale of cloth.

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The more frequently I receive your commands the more opportunity I shall have of manifesting myself.

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,
ROBERT COLE.

Algiers, the 26th October, 1703.

FROM CONSUL COLE

Hon. Sir,—I have received yours of this date and presume that Captain Baker and Captain Wager has informed you, we could not work anything on the Dey, concerning the subject of your letter by them, though we used many reasonable arguments.

This morning I went to the Dey with those Articles you drew up, and they are now entering into my book, and as soon as that is done, I shall desire the Secretary to do it in Turkish.

I have resented the Dey's unkindness, by so extravagant demand for his horses, he offered me one which I refused.

In whatever I can serve you, you have but to command.

Hon^ble. Sir,

Your most humble Servant,
ROBERT COLE.

Algiers, the 27th October, 1703.

CONFIRMATION AND RENEWAL OF THE PEACE WITH ALGIERS

Articles of Peace and Commerce between the most Serene and Mighty Princess Anne, by the Grace of God Queen of Great Britain, France and

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Ireland, Defender of the Christian faith, &c. and the most Illustrious Lord Mustapha Dey, the Bashaw, Aga, and Governors of the Famous City and Kingdom of Algiers In Barbary, Ratified confirmed and renewed by George Byng Esq^r. Rear Admiral of the Red Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet, on the 28th day of October Old Style 1703.

In the first place it is agreed and concluded that from this day and for ever forwards that the peace made by Arthur Herbert Esq^r. then Admiral of Her Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean in the year 1682 and since confirmed by Sir William Soames Bart., Ambassador to the Grand Seignior in the year 1686, with the Additional articles agreed to with Captain Munden and Consul Cole in the year 1700, be renewed and confirmed (with the further addition of the Articles agreed to in this Treaty with Geo. Byng Esq^r. Rear Admiral of the Red Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet) be kept inviolable between the most Serene Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian faith &c. and the most Illustrious Lord Mustapha Dey, the Bashaw, Aga, and Governors of the famous City and Kingdom of Algiers, and between all the Dominions and Subjects of either side, and that the ships and other vessels and the subjects and people of both sides shall not henceforth do to each other any harm, offence, or injury, either in word or deed, but shall treat one another with all possible respect and friendship, and that all demands and pretences whatsoever to this day between both parties shall cease and be void.

That whereas by the said Articles of peace made and concluded by Admiral Herbert it was agreed

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the subjects of England should pay ten per cent custom for the goods they should sell at Algiers or Dominions thereof, now for the better settling and maintaining a good commerce between the subjects of England and those of Algiers ; It is agreed and declared that from hence forward, the subjects of England shall pay but five per cent custom for the goods they shall sell at Algiers, and that counterband goods as is declared before shall pay no custom.

And it is further agreed and declared that all prizes taken by any of Her Majesty of Great Britain subjects, and all ships and vessels built and fitted out in any of Her Majesty's plantations in America that have not been in England, shall not be molested in case of no pass, but that a Certificate in writing under the hand of the Commanding Officer that shall so take prizes, and a Certificate under the hands of the Governor or Chief of any of Her Majesty's plantations in America or where any ship shall be built or fitted, shall be a sufficient pass to either of them. And our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word.

Confirmed and sealed in the presence of Almighty God, the twenty eight day of October in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand seven hundred and three, and in the year of the Hegira one thousand one hundred and fifteen, and the first day of the moon Regep.

G. B. and seal.

The name and seal of
the Dey of Algier.

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FROM CONSUL COLE

Hon. Sir,—As soon as I came on shore, I went to the King's house who having had time to consider of his denial of wheat, is now mightily concerned at it, the only reason I can draw for such a refusal is not gratifying him in his request of a salute from you when he was on the Mole, however he having better thought on it, has ordered it may forthwith be sent you on board, and hopes you'll excuse it.

His answer to the proposals made concerning the French is, that two of his ships are now going to the Levant with presents from himself, to the Grand Signor, at the return of these ships he promises me he'll write Her Majesty himself particularly about that affair. I am with profound respect,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,
ROBERT COLE.

Algiers, the 30th October, 1703.

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Admiralty Office,
29 November 1703.

Sir,—I send this to own the receipt of your letter, and to congratulate your safe arrival at Spithead, notwithstanding the late violent storm, which has done more mischief than I am able to give you an account of here. Poor Rear Admiral Beaumont is lost in the Mary on the Goodwin Sands, and with him the Stirling Castle, Restoration, and Northumberland, and there is hardly

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any place from whence letters have been received, but they give an account of great losses.

The Prince does not think it proper at this time to consent to your being on shore, but on the contrary commands me to recommend it to you, to use your utmost endeavours in the assisting and preserving such ships, as well of Her Majesty's, as of the Merchants, that stand in need of help.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

J. BURCHETT

There is yet no news from Sir Clowd^ly. Shovell and the great ships that were with him at the Gunfleet. God grant they may be safe.

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Admiralty Office,
8th December 1703.

Sir,—Understanding from the Navy Board, that they have wrote to Captain Lyell late Commander of the Resolution, which was cast away near Willington, to save what stores he can relating to the Navy, and to hire vessels to send the same to Portsmouth, or Chatham, as the wind shall serve, but he gives an account that no vessel will come thither to take in anything, unless there shall be a convoy to protect them from the Privateers; His Royal Highness has thereupon commanded me to signify his pleasure to you, that you do appoint one of the ships at Spithead, of the Portugal convoy, or any other that is not under immediate orders, to cruise off of Rye for the security of the said vessels, and to convoy them to Portsmouth with the stores they shall

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save ; of which notice is given to Captain Lyell, that he may correspond with you about this affair.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jos. Burchett.

If you send one of the Portugal ships, you will please to be cautious that she be not disabled in any way from proceeding on her voyage, by bad weather.

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PART III

1704

MEDITERRANEAN OPERATIONS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

So far the course of the naval war had not produced any marked results ; and for an obvious reason. The French were fighting to put Philip on the throne of Spain, for which the Grand Alliance had discovered a rival candidate in the Archduke Charles. The feelings of the Spaniards were obscure and difficult to determine, but it was at least obvious that indiscriminate naval attacks on Spanish ports would not increase the Archduke's popularity. So that except for the ill-considered attack on Cadiz in 1702 and the destruction of the treasure fleet in Vigo Bay, while under French protection, little had been done to secure the vast Iberian prize.

But in 1704 a strategic objective of first-rate importance at last presented itself in the shape of a vigorous combined operation against Toulon, in co-operation with the troops of the Duke of Savoy. It was certainly sound policy to destroy the Mediterranean base of the rival claimant, but the success of the scheme was by no means assured, chiefly owing to the doubtful attitude of Savoy. Nevertheless, the English Government decided to press the scheme, while Marlborough and Prince Eugene concerted their plans for a great counter-stroke against the French attack on Vienna.

Rooke was therefore instructed to take the Archduke Charles to Lisbon and to enter the Mediterranean with the combined fleet and to proceed to Barcelona, ' with the double object of supporting the Hapsburg party in Catalonia and being at hand to relieve Nice and Villafranca if they should call for assistance.' ' Rooke's real object was of course to get unsuspected within striking distance of Toulon.'

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Byng had spent February and March at Portsmouth attending to the preparations of the convoys destined for Lisbon and the East and West Indies, and it was not till the third week in April that he received Shovell's letter indicating the nature of the enemy's counter-move. Our intelligencers had discovered that the French squadrons from Brest, Port Louis and Rochefort were probably going to concentrate at Cadiz, where they would be joined by the fleet from Toulon. The whole force might then return to the Mediterranean and overwhelm Rooke. Shovell was therefore instructed to take the fleet to sea from Spithead and to proceed off Brest with the object of covering the passage of the Lisbon convoy. He was then to endeavour to prevent the three 'West France' divisions from concentrating, but if outnumbered he was to retire up the Channel.

If, on the other hand, he found that the Brest squadron had already sailed to the south, he was to detach sufficient ships to make Rooke superior, under the command of a junior flag-officer. Supposing this detachment meant sending the greater part of his fleet, he was to go in person and place himself under Rooke's command.

On 12th May Shovell was off Plymouth with most of his fleet, Vice-Admiral Sir Stafford Fairborne being second-in-command. Byng, with his flag again in the Ranelagh, had meanwhile been sent ahead to pick up some ships at Plymouth, with which he joined Shovell as his rear-admiral.

On receiving intelligence that Toulouse had already taken the Brest ships to sea, Shovell sent Fairborne home with seven of the line, and headed south towards Lisbon with Byng and the remainder. The changes made in Shovell's line of battle after Fairborne's return may be seen by comparing his orders of 12th May and 8th June.

On receiving intelligence that Toulouse had passed Lisbon heading south, they went into the Tagus for water, provisions and refitting, and left again on 12th June. They now knew for certain that Toulouse had left Cadiz and entered the Mediterranean. On 16th June they met Rooke off Cape St. Mary. He had been unable to

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make any impression on the Governor of Barcelona, whom he had summoned in the name of Charles III, and who had commented somewhat pointedly on the failure of the Archduke to come in person. He had then met the French fleet under Toulouse, which, however, had escaped him and entered Toulon. He had then left the Mediterranean in order to meet Shovell. After a council of war, which included Callenburgh, the Dutch admiral, it was decided to enter the Straits with a rendezvous off Tetuan.

On 21st June another council of war was held in consequence of letters instructing the Admirals not to undertake fresh operations without consulting the King of Portugal and the Archduke Charles. They therefore decided to send a ship to Lisbon for further orders, but meanwhile to pass the Straits according to their original decision, so as to be able to engage the French fleet from Toulon should it try to reach the Atlantic.

On the way Byng was to try to gain intelligence about the French by capturing small craft on the coast, and also to touch at Cadiz and arrange with the Governor for an exchange of prisoners.

The allied fleet anchored in Lagos Bay in order to get fresh water and provisions, and left again on 24th June, Byng separating from them with his squadron the next day and reaching Cadiz on 26th June. He at once opened negotiations and brought about a satisfactory exchange by the end of the next day, and rejoined Rooke on 28th June.

False intelligence of the French passing the Straits, together with contrary winds, prevented the allied fleet from entering till 6th July, when they steered over to the Spanish side and watered at Malaga. On 17th July orders came from Lisbon requesting the fleet to attack Cadiz, and another council of war was held. As no troops were available the Cadiz project was quickly vetoed, and the famous proposal made to capture Gibraltar. Byng appears to have demurred at it, on which Rooke curtly ordered him to lead the attack.

Preparations were completed in Tangier Bay, and on 21st July the fleet stood across to Gibraltar. Byng com-

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manded the advance squadron which was to undertake the bombardment, while the English and Dutch Marines were landed to the north on the isthmus under the command of Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Archduke Charles' special envoy and liaison officer.

The bombardment and landing on 22nd July proved a comparatively simple affair, and the English Navy obtained the site for an excellent base at the expense of a little over three hundred casualties.

Unfortunately the Byng Manuscripts throw no light whatever on Byng's activities during the attack, although the *Memoirs* mention one or two interesting incidents.

Although the capture of Gibraltar had proved so easy, its retention was quickly recognised as a very formidable task, especially as it was at present quite useless as a winter base for ships of the line, and was menaced by Toulouse's fleet having the use of Spanish ports. Rooke carried the allied fleet over to Tetuan to water, and was returning to Gibraltar on 9th August when the French fleet was sighted. The Manuscripts are again silent about the manœuvres which followed, and also about the action fought off Malaga on 13th August. An interesting order, however, from Rooke, dated four days before the action, indicates that he meant to fight in a compact formation, but it by no means suggests a concentration such as Rodney attempted at Martinique any more than it suggests an intention of doubling.

The succeeding papers are almost entirely concerned with the question of provisioning the fleet, reinforcing the Gibraltar garrison of Marines and the voyage to England.

Rooke reached St. Helens on 26th September, having left Sir John Leake at Lisbon for the winter, and on 1st December Byng was sent instructions for a cruise off Brest in order to protect trade. Some interest attaches to the instructions which direct Byng to take the advice of a council of war 'when there is occasion.' The cruise, which proved most arduous and dull, is fully described in the *Memoirs*, and was still being continued at the end of the year.

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A slight omission by the author of the *Memoirs* led Sir John Laughton, when editing them, to note that two different names had been jumbled into one in Byng's instructions of 1st December (see *Memoirs*, p. 166). It is obvious, however, from reading the original instructions, that Saint-Pol and Du Guay Trouin are indicated as separate persons. As before, the *Memoirs* follow the wording of Byng's papers practically word for word.

After 1704 the French made little further use of their Toulon fleet, except in 1706 when they used it to attack Barcelona. Instead they relied chiefly on raids, diversions and commerce destruction. The Allies when once possessed of Gibraltar were able to go a step further and to capture Minorca, the perfect base. Their strategy was formulated almost entirely on the lines laid down by Marlborough for the general conduct of the war by sea and land, who in turn derived his strategic conceptions from William III. Yet it is amazing to find in a book published as late as 1916, and bearing the imprint of the Clarendon Press, the gross misstatement that " William neglected the navy " (Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, edited by C. B. Wheeler, note on page 81).

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

You are hereby required and directed, immediately upon your receipt hereof, to give orders to the Captain of Her Majesty's ship the Chatham's Prize to proceed in search of the Medway and Gloucester, which are cruising West-South-West from Scilly, between that and twenty five leagues from it, and upon meeting them to deliver to the Captain of the Medway the orders which are herewith sent you, and that when he shall have so done, he puts himself under the command of Captain Littleton of the Medway, and follows his orders. You are to direct the said Captain of the Chatham's Prize that he does, with all possible diligence, look out for the Medway and Gloucester, by carefully running over their station, but that if he meets not with them in three days, he does then without loss of time repair to the station of the Revenge and Triton, which is between the latitude of forty eight and forty nine degrees North, between 40 and 60 leagues West from the Meridian of Scilly, and deliver to Captain Kerr of the Revenge the Instructions which you will also receive herewith, whose orders he is to be directed to follow. But in regard it may so happen that the Medway and Gloucester, or either of them, may be at Plymouth, or gone from thence on this service, pursuant to the orders which are sent to them, you are to direct the said Captain of the Chatham's Prize, that he sends his boat on shore to Plymouth, and that if he finds the said two ships or either of them are there, or gone in pursuance of my said orders, he does repair into that

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port, and remain there, sending me an account of his proceedings. But if he proceeds in search of the aforesaid cruisers, according as is before directed, you are to order him to take essential care to throw overboard the packets which he has under his charge, with a sufficient weight to sink them, in case he shall be attacked by any of the enemy's ships, and that he finds he cannot possibly escape, that so they may not know the station where the said packets direct the aforesaid ships to cruise, which you are to let him know is between the Lizard and Ushant, open with the mouth of the Channel, that so if he happens to escape after the packet is thrown overboard, he may inform the Captains of such of the aforesaid ships as he meets with of the same by word of mouth, and that they are from thence to send in a ship once a week to Plymouth. But if when he has diligently cruised for the aforesaid ships he does not meet with them, you are to order him to return to Plymouth, but carefully to look out for them in his passage, and upon meeting them, or any one of them, to put himself under their command.

Given under my hand this 19th April, 1704.

GEORGE.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Sir,—The French are fitting out from Brest a Fleet of ships which will be very soon ready to put to sea, and therefore I am ordered out of town as soon as possible, and design to set out on Monday next for Portsmouth. The ships in the River Medway I have directed Jack Jennings [1]

[1] Captain John Jennings.

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to bring with him, and must recommend to you the ships at Spithead, that you will forward the putting them that you know are to be of my Squadron in a condition for the sea with the utmost dispatch, and getting the ships that are in harbour out to Spithead; till I come; I think to be at Portsmouth a Tuesday night, and will defer what I have further to say till I see you, and am,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

Navy Office,
19th April, 1704.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are to sail in company with me, and in case of separation diligently apply yourself to seek for me at the place of rendezvous which is between the Forne Head and the Lizard, where if you find me not you are to sail into the Soundings about 20 leagues W.S.W. from Scilly; if you miss me there, you are to sail to a station W^{t} or W.S.W^{t} 140 or 150 leagues from Scilly: and not finding me there you are to make the best of your way to Lisbon: and to be careful not to divulge your rendezvous.

Dated aboard the Barfleur at St. Helens,
9th May, 1704

CLOW. SHOVELL.

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LINE OF BATTLE [1]

The St. George to lead with the Starboard and the Revenge with the Larboard tacks aboard.

Frigates, Fireships, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Division.
M. G.						
Lynn 145 : 32	2	St. George	Capt. Jennings	680	96	
Bridgewater 155 : 36	3	Moderate	,, Lumley	365	64	
Lightning Fireship.	4	Triton	,, Trevor	280	50	
Terror Bomb	3	Torbay	,, Caldwell	500	80	Vice-Admirals.
	3	Shrewsbury	Sir Staff[d]. Fairborne / Captn. Jos. Crow	540	80	
	3	Essex	Capt. Hubbard	440	70	
	3	Gloucester	,, Mead	365	60	
	4	Guernsey	,, Huntington	280	50	
	3	Royal Oak	,, Elwes	500	76	
	3	Monck	,, Myghells [2]	365	60	
	3	Boyne	Lord Dursley	500	80	
	3	Warspight	Capt. Loades	440	70	
	4	Nottingham	,, Whitaker [3]	280	50	
Roebuck 190 : 40	3	Orford	,, Norris	440	70	
Julian Fireship	2	Barfleur	Sir Clowd[y] Shovell / Capt. James Stewart	710	96	
William and Mary yacht	2	Namur	Capt. Mynge	680	96	Admirals.
Princess Anne	3	Medway	,, Littleton	365	60	
Winchelsea 155 : 36	3	Swiftsure	,, Wynn	440	70	
	4	Centurion	,, Herne	280	50	
	3	Lennox	,, Jumper	440	70	
	3	Nassau	,, Dove	440	70	
	3	Rupert	,, Fogg	365	64	
	4	Warwick	,, Smith	280	50	
	3	Norfolk	,, Knapp	500	80	
Vulture Fireship		Ranelagh	Geo. Byng Esq. / Capt. Johnson	535	80	Rear-Admirals.
Star bombship	3	Dorsetshire	Capt. Whitaker	500	80	
	4	Coventry	,, Laurance	280	50	
	3	Kingston	,, Acton	365	60	
	3	Assurance	,, Hancock	365	64	
Dolphin 125 : 28	3	Revenge	,, Kerr	440	70	

Dated aboard the Barfleur at Sea, 12th May, 1704.

CLOW: SHOVELL.

[1] In both the lines of battle I have corrected the rating according to that given in other contemporary lists, but I have not attempted to alter the numbers of men and guns which are, in some cases, at variance with each other.

[2] James Myghells or Mighells; died 1734, Comptroller of the Navy.

[3] Samuel Whitaker, brother of Edward Whitaker of the Dorsetshire.

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LINE OF BATTLE

The Essex to lead with the Starboard and the Dorsetshire with the Larboard tacks aboard.

Frigates, Fireships, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Division.
M. G.	3	Essex	Capt. Hubbard	440	70	
	3	Assurance	,, Hancock	365	66	
	4	Centurion	,, Herne	280	50	
	3	Shrewsbury	,, Crow	520	80	
Vulture Fireship	2	St. George	,, Jennings	680	96	
	3	Royal Oak	,, Elwes	500	76	
	4	Triton	,, Trevor	230	48	
	3	Boyne	James Lord Dursley	500	80	
	4	Nottingham	Capt. Whitaker	365	60	Admirals.
Roebuck 190 : 40	3	Warspight	,, Loades	440	70	
Vulcan Fireship	3	Orford	,, Norris	440	70	
Princess Ann, Hospital ship.	2	BARFLEUR	Sir Clowdy. Shovell Capt. Jas. Stewart	710	96	
	2	Namur	Capt. Mynngs	680	96	
	3	Swiftsure	,, Wynn	440	70	
	3	Lennox	,, Jumper	440	70	
	3	Nassau	,, Dove	440	70	
	4	Tilbury	,, Delavall	280	50	
	3	Norfolk	,, Knapp	500	80	
Lightning Fireship.	3	RANELAGH	George Byng Esq. Capt. John Cowe	535	80	Rear-Admirals.
	3	Torbay	,, Caldwell	500	80	
	3	Monck	,, Myghells	365	60	
	3	Kingston	,, Acton	365	60	
	3	Dorsetshire	,, Whitaker	500	80	

You are to take notice that the St. George in time of Fight and Sailing is to make Signals as a Flagship. Dated aboard the Barfleur in Lisbon river, 8th June, 1704.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

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FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

In case of separation by bad weather, or any other accident, the place of rendezvous is ten leagues East from Tetuan, on the Barbary shore. Dated on board the Royal Katherine at Sea June the 17th, 1704.

FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

You are hereby required and directed, with Her Majesty's ships named in the margin,[1] whose Captains are to observe and follow your orders, to make the best of your way before Cadiz, where you are to endeavour to surprise and take any Tartans, Barquelongas, or other boats, and to gain from them the best intelligence you can of the enemy's force, and motions either by sea, or land, and to come to an anchor in the Bay of Bulls, from whence you are to send a Flag of Truce ashore to the Governor of Cadiz, and to acquaint him that you are come to exchange any English, Portuguese, or Dutch prisoners, which he may have there, with such French or Spaniards, as you have with you. But in case he has none, you are then to send ashore all you have on board your ships, which having done you are to make the best of your way off Cape Spartel, to join the fleet.

You are to take, burn, sink, or otherwise destroy, any of the enemy's ships, or vessels, you may happen to meet with and give due protection

[1] Ranelagh
Swiftsure
Orford
Assurance
Lennox
Hampton Court
Montague
Centurion
Tilbury

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to those of Her Majesty's ships, or her Allies forces. For which this shall be your Warrant. Dated on board the Royal Katharine off Lagos, June the 21st, 1704.

BYNG TO THE GOVERNOR OF CADIZ

Off of Cadiz,
26th June, 1704.

Sir,—The General of the Queen of England's fleet has sent me hither to treat with you about the exchange of such prisoners as you may have of Her Majesty's subjects, or of her allies the King of Portugal and States of Holland for such Spaniards and French as I have now in this Squadron.

I am withal to acquaint you that the General of the English Fleet is informed there are several of Her Majesty's of Great Britain's subjects that have been treated in a very ill manner, not like prisoners of war; and it is not our usage to treat prisoners in that manner. I am commanded to let you know that if they are not treated in a better manner, it will put us upon treating those of yours and the French nation with a suitable return.

If it be your inclination to treat with me on this subject, such officers or boat you shall send with a flag of truce, shall have all due regard, as I doubt not my officers shall have, if you choose a middle way to treat.[1]

I am,
Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
G. B.

[1] The Governor's answer to this letter was that he would be glad to effect an exchange of prisoners but wished Byng to liberate the crews of the small boats he had captured while approaching Cadiz, before the negotiations went further.

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BYNG TO THE GOVERNOR OF CADIZ

Off of Cadiz,
26th June, 1704.

Sir,—I have received your Excellency's letter of this day's date, and according to your desire do send you the number of prisoners which I have on board, being near one hundred and fifty, which I am to exchange man for man, and quality for quality, amongst whom are some officers. And I desire your Excellency will appoint some officer as soon as possible tomorrow, either to come on board if you think fit, to whom I promise all due honour and safe conduct, or if you think it more convenient that an officer of yours and one of mine meet within the Puercas to adjust the above said exchange in two boats, either of these ways is equal to me.

I must desire your answer with all expedition because my affairs call me speedily away and would know if possible this night the number and quality of the prisoners you have to exchange, and what hour you appoint in the morning for the adjusting this matter.

As to the boat you mention, it was surprised by the boat of one of my ships that went ahead of my squadron in the morning early before I hoisted my colours, since when I have had opportunity to seize several boats, but that was not my intention, and I had given orders to the contrary to all the ships under my command. But because I would not leave the least umbrage in an affair of this nature, which is always to be treated with all tenderness and honour, I have ordered the sails and grapnel which one of my boats took, to be returned tomorrow. And I desire your Excellency to believe that nothing shall be wanting in me to

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comply with you in the most honourable manner, as being

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,
G. B.

GOVERNOR OF CADIZ TO BYNG

In answer to your second letter of this day's date the contents corresponding to the esteem I have of your honour's good intentions and not to spend the time in more expressions when what may relate to your honour's first and second propositions touching the exchange of prisoners of war degree for degree and person for person. In pursuance of which I inform your honour that tomorrow Tuesday at nine of the clock will depart from this Garrison in a boat a captain with the prisoners of war which came here among whom I think there are but two Captains, there will go some other officers through the intercession of the interpreter, shall for what may offer will accompany the Captain towards facilitating the exchange of the prisoners of one side and another, to which effect your honour may give the necessary orders with an equal officer who may appear at the Puercas at the forementioned hours. He on my side will carry full orders for the designed effect, the number of prisoners that he can carry may be 33 for although there have been many more here, I have according to the style of war always forwarded their departure to their own country, which would have been performed to eleven of those which are included in the number proposed if they had not violated the order I gave them which was that they should immediately depart this Garrison, and they remained notwithstanding

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eight days hidden in a house, at the end of which one who pretended to be their chief came to ask a passport of me. Their delay being known to me and confessed I was obliged to mortify them by putting them in prison from whence one of them one night taking a peruque and clothes that were none of his, in disguise ran away. The prison-keeper was obliged to seek for him the whole night and at last found him and brought him back to prison, of which afterwards he informed me and I inform the same to your honour that you may see what a false account you had of my being accessory to their ill treatment. Touching the boat which your honour's pinnace took, I remain confident in your honour's word that she shall be set free with the people and am your honour's debtor for the good intention which you express in setting free the two men with the sails and rigging which one of your pinnaces took on the shore of St. Mary's and for the proposition of security which your honour offers to my officers of safe conduct. I fully agree that the exchange may be fully perfected and concluded. I am always at your honour's service whose life God preserve &c.

Cadiz, July 7, 1704.

DUKE OF BRANCACIO.

BYNG TO THE GOVERNOR OF CADIZ

Off of Cadiz,
27th June, 1704.

Sir,—I have received your Excellency's letter this day desiring I would give you all the prisoners I have, though they are above the number you have to exchange.

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I would be glad to oblige you, but observing that though we have given liberty to all the Spaniards that have fallen into our hands, and particularly those taken in the Galleons, yet have not met with a suitable return, being informed that some of the subjects of the Queen of England and her allies, that have been brought into Spanish Ports, have been delivered up to the French Consul in those Ports, to be disposed as they shall think fit, is the reason at this time I cannot comply with your desire.

I am,
Your Excellency's humble Servant,

FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

Sir,—Lieut. Davenport having insulted Captain Whitaker upon the Quarter Deck of this ship upon the orders which he received from Captain Whitaker ashore, I have suspended him, and do therefore desire you will cause him to be confined.[1]

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
G. ROOKE.

Royal Katherine before
Gibraltar. 27th July, 1704.

[1] Whitaker who seems to have been an active but somewhat hot-headed man, had accused Davenport, (Byng's First Lieutenant in the Ranelagh and old shipmate) of plundering, which resulted in Davenport's insubordination. See Thomas Pocock's Journal in the appendix to *Memoirs* page 195, where commenting on the incident, he says, " I presented him [Davenport] with a large silver medal for his civilitys to me." Coming from Byng's connection by marriage the remark is significant.

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FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

Royal Katherine,
9th August, 1704.

Sir,—In case it should be smooth water, and that the enemy does come down, I desire you will give directions to all the Captains to close the line, as near as conveniently they can.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
G. ROOKE.

FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

Royal Katherine,
19th August, 1704.

Sir,—I desire you'll order twelve gunners and four carpenters out of the ships of your division to be ready to go ashore with the Marines at Gibraltar, and that you will send ashore to the old Mole, the two brass guns which has the Prince of Hesse's Arms upon them.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
G. ROOKE.

FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

Royal Katherine at Sea.
7th September, 1704.

Sir,—I desire you'll inspect the weekly accounts of the ships of your division, and to supply such of them as you find in most want of bread, or other species, out of those that have it to spare,

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and that afterwards you'll send it me calculated for the number of men they have actually aboard, that I may order them to be put to half allowance, if it be necessary.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
G. ROOKE.

FROM SIR GEORGE ROOKE

Whereas there may be a want of bread and water in the Fleet, in case the winds should continue contrary to render us a long passage to England, I do hereby require and direct you to give orders to the respective Captains of your Squadron, that they forthwith put their ships companies, to half allowance of bread, and to give such a proportion of water to the men daily as that the same may last as long as their provisions, and to continue so doing till they arrive at Portsmouth, or some other port where they may be supplied, and that then they put them to whole allowance of all species. And if you find any of them have not water to enable them to do this, you are to supply with as much as you shall think proper, out of such of your division as you'll judge can best spare it. For which this shall be your warrant. Dated on board the Royal Katharine at Sea, September the 10th, 1704.

G. ROOKE.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas His Royal Highness has ordered the Ruby in Portsmouth harbour about to the River,

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I do hereby desire and direct you to take under your command the five ships in the margin [1] that are bound to Blackstakes and remain with them till the 30th inst. here or at Spithead, which you shall judge most convenient when I go from hence, and use all possible diligence to get her in a readiness to bring her about with you, putting aboard her a Lieutenant and about two hundred men out of the other ships that refit at Portsmouth as can best spare them; and you are likewise to hasten out of harbour the Princess Anne, and Jeffreys hospital ships, and bring them about; but if these ships cannot be got ready by the time appointed, you are to leave a ship or two in order to come about with them, or remain yourself two or three days longer in case you find it necessary, and then make the best of your way with them to the Nore, sending the Tilbury, Ruby and the two hospital ships to Longreach in the river of Thames, directing their Commanders to give account of their arrival there to the Secretary to His Royal Highness, and you are to proceed with the rest to Blackstakes, where they are to use their utmost diligence to get out their guns, stores, provisions &c. and then proceed to Chatham: and you are from time to time to give account of your proceedings on the service to His Royal Highness's Secretary. Dated on board the Barfleur at St. Helen's, September 28th, 1704.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

You are likewise to give orders to all such of the Ships that came home with Sir George Rooke, or any others hereabouts that are manned and

[1] Ranelagh, Monmouth, Nassau, Grafton, Tilbury

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have tenders, to discharge them and send them about to the River, and that they give the Navy Board notice thereof. Dated September 28th, 1704.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

The accounts I have received of the enemy's being in the Soundings with several ships of force, under the command of Monsr. St. Paul and Monsr. de Gue,[1] making it necessary to send a squadron of Her Majesty's ships thither, in order to oppose their designs, and destroy them if possible, and secure the Rich Trade, which is daily expected home from Barbados, I do hereby direct and require you to repair forthwith to Spithead, and take the ships named in the margin [2] under your command, and get them in a readiness to go to sea as soon as possible; and when wind and weather will permit you are to proceed westward, and take the Chatham and Anglesey, which are at Plymouth, under your command and along with you, if they are ready; otherwise you are to give them a rendezvous and orders to follow and join you. And whereas the Medway, Exeter and Mary are now cruising from thirty to fifty leagues westward of Scilly, and between the latitudes of forty eight degrees and a half, and fifty degrees No. latitude for the protection of the Barbadoes trade, you are likewise to proceed to their station, and upon meeting them take them also under your command.

[1] See Introductory Note.

[2] Rupert — Rochester
Deptford — Triton

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You are with this squadron, or so many of them as you can get together, to cruise in such stations in the Soundings as you shall think the most proper to secure the homeward bound Trade aforesaid, and clear them of the enemies ships of war and privateers, whom you are to endeavour to take, sink, burn or otherwise destroy; and that you may the better be enabled to do it, you are hereby empowered when you find you have a sufficient strength together, to send in one or two ships at a time, with orders to clean and victual and return to you. You are to continue on this service as long as your provisions will last sending in every twenty days to Plymouth for orders, and to give me an account of your proceedings. And if during your cruise you meet with any of the Trade aforesaid, or any other, you are to take care that they be seen in safety into some Port of England, after which the ships you send with them are to be directed to return to you.

You are also, if you shall be forced in by want of provisions or ill weather, to victual the ships under your command up to three months, at Plymouth, and proceed again to sea, for the performance of the aforesaid services, if you find no orders there to the contrary.

And the Turkey company having made their application to me for a convoy to their ships which are outward-bound, whose names are in the margin,[1] you are to take them under your care if they join you before you sail, or if you meet them at sea, and see them one hundred or one hundred and fifty leagues into the sea, from the Land's End.

[1] King William
De la Warr
Bolton
Leghorn Galley
Mazarin Galley
Mermaid Galley
Drayton

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You are to govern yourself while you are abroad upon this service by the intelligence you shall gain, and with the advice of the Captains that are with you, or such of them as you can call together when there is occasion. Given under my hand this 1st of December, 1704.

GEORGE.

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PART IV

1705
COMMERCE PROTECTION IN THE CHANNEL

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

NEW Year's Day, 1704/5, found Byng windbound in Torbay and complaining to the Admiralty of the poor quality of his crews. On 3rd January the wind coming from the north-west, he was able to run down Channel again and to continue his patrol between the Lizard and Ushant.

After another cruise, in which his squadron captured two privateers and the Mary was injured in a collision with a merchantman 'running' the Channel independent of convoy, he anchored again in Plymouth Sound on 21st January. His previous complaint about his crews is answered by Shovell's letter of 6th January, in which Byng's promotion to Vice-Admiral of the Blue is foreshadowed. Shovell's letter is particularly interesting for its sidelights on naval politics. It would be interesting to know the exact reason for Wishart being considered unsuited to undertake the prevention of a Jacobite landing in Scotland.

His next task was the protection of the homeward-bound East Indiamen, and on 31st January he sailed from Plymouth, the Indiamen being in sight. He had delayed sailing before in the hopes of being able to strengthen Dilkes' convoy for the outward-bound Portugal trade, which was expected to be passing Plymouth at that moment.

At this point the *Memoirs* end. Byng's spring cruises finished in April when he came to London, where he received instructions for protecting the trade bound for Virginia and the West Indies. But in May he received further instructions to join the expedition fitting out at Spithead under the 'Joint Admirals,' Shovell and Peterborough, for the Mediterranean. On 19th May

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Shovell assigned him the special duty of taking an advance squadron to sea in order to discover what the French were doing at Brest. Shovell and Peterborough were off Ushant by 30th May, when they increased Byng's squadron from four to twelve ships, and directed him to send these ships on to Lisbon under Sir John Jennings together with the victuallers for the fleet as soon as he was certain that the French had sailed from Brest and were not contemplating any action in English home waters.

These instructions were further expanded by a letter from Prince George of 6th June, in which Byng was allotted two more ships and told to cruise in the Soundings after dispatching Jennings to Lisbon. The Prince again sent Byng instructions on 11th June, practically repeating what he had said before, but empowering Byng ' to sink, burn or otherwise destroy ' the French ships from Brest, ' if they shall come out.' George Clarke,[1] in his covering letter, refers to this difference, saying, ' I believe you will like it better.' Byng, with his flag in the Royal Anne, had meanwhile returned to Plymouth, and the letters to him indicate the Government's anxiety as to the activities and destination of the Brest fleet.

He was off Ushant again before the end of June, but after a few days was driven off his station by heavy winds and forced back to Dartmouth. Here he received the Prince's instructions of 2nd July, by which he was to regulate the strength of the convoy for the victuallers going to Lisbon, according to the strength of such French ships as might have sailed south from Brest. He then brought his squadron round to Plymouth.

By the middle of July, Byng's task had become further complicated by the necessity of directing him to protect several groups of merchantmen passing through the Channel and also to deal with enemy privateers round Mounts Bay. The exact adjustment of strength for all these duties, together with the main duty of watching Brest, are the chief subject of his instructions for the next few weeks.

[1] George Clarke was Second Secretary to the Admiralty.

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Captain Baker's report throws an interesting light on Byng's activities.

By the middle of August, Byng had been driven back by bad weather to Spithead. Since January the ships under his command had captured two men-of-war and twelve privateers. These included the Auguste (54), taken by Captain Robert Bokenham. Clarke's letter to Byng of 16th August definitely suggests that the capture took place within a few days of writing, and therefore entirely confirms the opinion of Sir William Laird Clowes in opposition to that of Sir John Laughton (see *The Royal Navy*, vol. ii. p. 508, note 2).

On 28th August Byng applied for leave to go ashore owing to the state of his health, and this was granted by the Prince's orders sent the next day, Sir John Jennings being left in command of Byng's squadron.

The letters betray a disquieting feeling of inefficiency in the Navy, the unseaworthiness of certain ships, lack of suitable accommodation for the sick and dissatisfaction over the pay question. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to find any period in our naval history when complaints of this kind were not being made.

The affair of the Thetis referred to in Byng's letter to Captain Swanton of 25th February and in George Clarke's letter to Byng of 29th March, will be dealt with more fully in Volume II.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

January 6th, 170$\frac{4}{5}$.

Dear Sir,—I have received several of yours which gave me an account of your proceedings. I expected you could do but very little service in the shortest days with your foul ships, but now you have set the wheel at work with your clean ships and I hope in God you will have good success. You have very well hinted on a melancholy subject which is the many good for nothing creatures we carry to sea with us. I hope to see that matter mended though at present there is little prospect of it, but I have some reason to believe Her Majesty's clemency to deserters and other criminals sentenced at a Court Martial will soon be at an end, or at least not so frequent pardon as have been hitherto. As to our own affairs, I find Sir Geo. Rooke have done with the sea and I shall command the Fleet this summer. 'Tis designed two flags shall stay at home: that is, one to command the Dunkirk Squadron, the other in the Soundings. 'Tis supposed the French will send some troops to Scotland,[1] therefore not thought desirable Sir James Wishart should command the Dunkirk Squadron. That I suppose will fall to Sir Thomas Dilkes' lot, and though I shall always be glad of your good assistance in counsel &c. wheresoever I go, yet believing it both for your honour and interest, I shall propose that you command the Western Squadron, and that you may have the Ranelagh, or any other ship you propose. I have mentioned this to Churchill,

[1] From Dunkirk.

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who concurs and desires Delavall may be your Captain or he will be adrift: and provision shall be made for your Captain in a 4th Rate, Jennings to have your ship and the Sovereign not go to sea.

Sir John Leake will soon be declared Vice-Admiral of the White and you the Blue. We hear the French are fitting out a great fleet and they begin to talk of hastening of us out, though I do not hear the Dutch will exceed the number of ships in the main fleet they had last year. God preserve you and send you success in all your undertakings is truly the prayers of Sir your faithful friend and servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

You are hereby required and directed, as often as conveniently you can, to send a ship to look into Brest, in order to gain intelligence of the enemy's preparations there, and of what ships have sailed from thence, or any other parts of France, which her Commander is to endeavour to do, either by taking men off the shore, out of fishing boats or otherwise, as opportunity shall best present, and you are to send me an account of what intelligence he shall gain. Given under my hand this 14th February, 1704/5.

GEORGE.

BYNG TO CAPTAIN SWANTON

Whereas the late Captain of the Thetis prize and his officers that are prisoners assure me that the sugar and small quantity of indigo on board

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her is not merchants' goods, nor upon freight, but their own private and proper goods, which I take to belong to you, your officers and men (according to Her Majesty's most gracious Declaration for encouraging the seamen in her service) as your proper plunder, you are therefore upon your arrival at Plymouth to enter the said goods paying the custom, after which to divide them to your officers and men, and not deliver the ships up till His Royal Highness's pleasure be further known. For which this shall be your warrant. Dated on board the Mary at Sea, 25th February, 1704. [5.]

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Admiralty Office,
29th March, 1705.

Sir,—I am to own the receipt of several of your letters of 16th and 17th of this month, which came to the office much about the same time, and with them some of the same date to myself. You will give me leave, in answer to them all, to acquaint you that the Royal Privateer, sent in by the Triton, was disposed of before your letters came, and that we have heard nothing as yet of the Constable of St. Malo's arrival in England. I am afraid the loss of the Thetis has made my service useless to you, for I suppose the things are sunk with her, which you directed Captain Swanton to enter, and dispose of, at Plymouth. The account you have had is very true, of the Ranelagh being ordered to Lisbon, and for that reason she cannot be unmanned, but Delavall is directed to put your servants and goods into the Rochester, or leave them at Plymouth if she is gone, the Deptford

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being to be fitted for a voyage to New England. I am sorry I can't tell you that you may have one of the new 70-gun ships, which you desire, but my Lord Carmarthen has one with him in the Dunkirk Squadron, and the Captain and Company of the Norfolk is put into the other, and she is appointed to go with Sir Clo. Shovell. I can't tell whether Captain Littleton knows it or not, but the Cambridge is kept for him, and, if he does not happen to be sent to Portsmouth time enough to go with the Fleet, a new Captain must be put into her, and he may chance to be left ashore all this summer. I wish you good success in your cruise, and that I may be able to give you a more pleasing account of the next commands you lay upon.

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,
GEO. CLARKE.

Sir Geo. Byng.
To be carried by the Rochester to Plymouth.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Admiralty Office,
5th of April, 1705.

Sir,—The Prince has received an account that in August or September 1703, four French ships of 42, 40, 36 and 30 guns went from St. Malo's, to the South Sea, and had goods on board, to the value of five hundred thousand pounds. It is certain these ships have been as far as Lima, in Peru, and are expected every day in France, most probably at St. Malo, with the produce of the goods they carried out, which it is thought may be worth two millions sterling. His Royal Highness has com-

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manded me to acquaint you with this intelligence, that you may keep good looking out, and cruise in the most likely station to intercept them.

There is not any news of the Exeter or Constable of St. Malo's being come to Plymouth. I am

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. CLARKE.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Admiralty Office,
7th April, 1705.

Sir,—I have nothing to add to the letter you receive with this, but that you must settle Davenport's business when you come to town, for I find there are difficulties in giving a ship to so young a Lieutenant, and I am afraid nobody will be able to get him a fifth rate at first. I shall be very glad to kiss your hands here, and am,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. CLARKE.

The Queen and Prince go to New Market on Tuesday.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas there are several of the enemy's ships of war at Brest which are in a condition to sail, for which reason I have ordered the ships bound to Virginia, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, with those trades, to proceed out of the Soundings in company of each other, and so far further as their way shall lie together for their better security.

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And whereas I think it necessary that if any of Her Majesty's ships of your squadron at Plymouth, shall be ready to proceed to sea, when those convoys shall come off of that port, they should proceed out to sea in company with them. You are therefore hereby required and directed forthwith to despatch the necessary orders for their so doing, and that they do accompany them so far as you judge necessary for their security, and then cruise in such station, or stations, as may be most proper for security of our trade, and annoying the enemy; and you are to give me an account of what you do herein. Dated this 30th April, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, the Lord High Admiral of England, or the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have power and authority to grant commissions to inferior Vice-Admirals or commanders-in-chief of any squadron of ships, to call and assemble Court Martials to consist of Commanders and Captains for the putting in execution certain articles and orders in the Act of Parliament made in the 13th year of King Charles the Second, entitled an Act for Establishing certain Articles and Orders for the regulating and better government of the Navy, Ships of war, and Forces by Sea, and for the Trial of such persons as shall offend against the same. I do therefore in order thereunto hereby authorize and empower you to call and assemble Court Martials consisting of Commanders and Captains of Her Majesty's ships, according as is mentioned

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in the said Act of Parliament, who are to proceed to enquire into and examine all crimes and offences committed by any person or persons, as shall be found offending therein, either of pain of death, or such other pains or penalties as shall be thought fit by the said Courts Martial, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Articles and Orders, and cause such one sentence to be executed accordingly; excepting in case of death, which sentence is not to be executed (except in case of Mutiny) without the leave of the Lord High Admiral of England, or commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England. And in case of the Absence of the Judge Advocate of Her Majesty's Fleet and his deputy, you are hereby empowered as often as you call Courts Martial, to appoint some fitting person to execute the office of Judge Advocate at the said Courts Martial, for the more orderly proceeding of the same. For which this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and the seal of the office of Lord High Admiral this 4th May, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Notwithstanding any former orders to the contrary, you are hereby required and directed to go out with the joint Admirals of Her Majesty's Fleet, with as many of the ships of your squadron as you can get together, when they sail from Spithead, ordering the rest to come after and join you. And you are to follow such orders as you shall receive from the said Joint Admirals. Given under my hand this 15th May, 1705.

GEORGE.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Britannia at Spithead,
May 19th, 1705.

Sir,—You are hereby desired and directed, with the Mary, and Windsor, together with the Worcester's Prize and Swift Sloop, to sail to Plymouth, and there take with you such of the ships of your squadron as you shall think fit; as also as many of those that sailed from hence as you judge may be of service, and sail to such part of the Coast of France as you shall think most proper to gain intelligence of the enemy's ships fitted out of Brest, and those parts of France; but if you shall think it more for the service, you may take the Cambridge instead of the Windsor. And when you have gained what intelligence you can, you are to return to a station between the Lizard and Ushant, and cruise there until further order, and send in your intelligence by such ships as you shall think fit both to His Royal Highness and to me. Whatever ships of your squadron you meet with you are either to keep them with you or send them to the Fleet; and when you shall have no further service for the Worcester's Prize you are to direct the Captain to follow his orders in cruising off of St. Ives.

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM LORD PETERBOROUGH AND SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

In pursuance of His Royal Highness's order to us bearing date the 15th May, 1705, you are

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hereby directed and required to take under your command the twelve men of war mentioned in the margin,[1] with the Squirrel and Hawke fireships, together with the ships of your own squadron, and cruise off Ushant and the Fornehead, taking care to inform yourself as often as in your power of the enemy's proceedings with shore ships, which by your advice and Sir John Jennings's are now in the port of Brest; and when by advice, you shall find the enemy sailed from thence, and that you have no intelligence you can depend upon, that the French are gone out with a design of coming into the Soundings, or infesting Her Majesty's Dominions; then you are immediately to send Sir John Jennings and the ships we leave with you, with orders to make the best of his way to the Bay of Oeiras in the River of Lisbon, there to expect further orders; as likewise you will take care that those ships left at Portsmouth, and the Squirrel sail with Sir John Jennings if possible, with the Victuallers under their convoy, or such other ships as the Prince may appoint for that service; not omitting frequently to acquaint His Royal Highness for his own and Her Majesty's information, of all your proceedings; and when you have put in execution these our orders you are to follow the former instructions you have, or any other you shall receive from His Royal Highness. And, as it is resolved in the Council of War this day, so you shall give directions to one of the ships you shall think fit to order to cruise off Brest, that upon seeing the enemy's

[1] 1. Royal Anne
2. Triumph
Albemarle
3. Somerset
Russell
Royal Oak
Resolution
Nassau
Firm
Monmouth
4. Dunkirk
Windsor

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fleet put to sea, he make the best of his way to Lisbon to give the most certain account he can of the proceedings of the French Fleet.

Dated on board the Britannia off Ushant May 30th, 1705.

PETERBOROUGH
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

The Notices I have received from the joint Admiralty of Her Majesty's Fleet and yourself of the enemy's squadron remaining at Brest, making me think it necessary you should be strengthened with what ships can be put in a readiness to go to sea; I have ordered the Cumberland and the Dorsetshire forthwith to join you on your Station off of the Fornehead and directed the Medway, Sunderland and Plymouth to follow them, as soon as they can be got to sea, with what others can be fitted out. And supposing that by the time this shall be brought you by the Cumberland and Dorsetshire, all, or most part of your own squadron may have joined you, whereby it is hoped you may be strong enough to meet the enemy that is at Brest; I do hereby direct and require you to use your best endeavours to inform yourself from time to time of the enemy's proceedings in that harbour and so to place yourself with the ships under your command, as upon consulting with the Flag Officer and Captains with you, shall be judged most proper for intercepting the enemy, should they attempt to come out and upon gaining sight of them, to do your utmost to come up with, take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy them.

But in case it shall so happen that the enemy's

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ships do get out of Brest, and you have intelligence which you can depend on, that they have gone to the Mediterranean, you are then immediately to send away Sir John Jennings with the ships mentioned in the margin,[1] with orders to him to make the best of his way to the Bay of Oeiras in the River Lisbon, there to expect further orders, or put in execution such as shall be left for him there by the Joint Admirals of Her Majesty's Fleet; and you yourself with the rest of the ships with you, are to cruise in the Soundings for protection of the trade as you was formerly directed.

But in regard there are several ships at Plymouth laden with stores and provisions for the service of Her Majesty's Ships abroad, you are to direct Sir John Jennings if you send him forward to Lisbon to take the said ships with these stores and provisions from Plymouth under his care and protection, to Lisbon, or otherwise leave such a number of ships to perform this service, as shall be thought a sufficient convoy for them thither, whither they are to make the best of their way.

You are by all opportunities that shall present to transmit to me frequent account of your proceedings, and of such intelligence as you may from time to time gain of the enemy's proceedings.

Given under my hand, this 6th June, 1705.

GEORGE.

[1] Royal Anne, Triumph, Albemarle, Somerset, Russell, Royal Oak, Resolution, Nassau, Firm, Monmouth, Cumberland, Dorsetshire, Windsor, Dunkirk, Medway, Squirrel, F'S. Hawke

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FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor, 6th June, 1705.

Sir,—I suppose Admiral Churchill will accompany this, with a letter, from Portsmouth, and tell you the reason of his not coming to you, which he thought he should have done, till last night, when the Prince gave him orders to the contrary: however he is gone to Portsmouth this morning, in hopes that by his presence there, and the methods he has had to make use of, he may be able to man the Sunderland as well as the Plymouth, by the time the Medway's ready to come to you. These three ships are to see the Victuallers into Plymouth, as they go along. I am afraid that the Cumberland and the Dorsetshire and Sloops are all the help we can afford you, which our great men think enough of all conscience, being of opinion that the enemy will make the best of their way to the Straits in order to join the ships of East France; but you will know soonest, whether those conjectures are right or no. I wish you every good success, upon your own as well as the public account, and am,

Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
GEO. CLARKE.

I desire the favour of you to give my humble services to Sir John Jennings.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Being informed by your letter of the 7th, which you sent my Secretary from Plymouth, that you

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are come in thither with the ships in the margin,[1] and found some of those there, of your proper squadron, and whereas I have ordered the Cumberland and the Dorsetshire to join you in your former station off of the Fornehead, and am sending the Medway, Plymouth and Sunderland to you to Plymouth; I do hereby require and direct you as soon as the three last ships shall come to you to Plymouth, immediately to go to sea with them, and as many of your own squadron in conjunction with the ships left you by the Joint Admirals as shall be with you, leaving orders for the rest to follow. And you are to put yourself into such a station off of Brest, as you shall judge most proper with the advice of the Flag Officer and Captains with you, to gain the speediest intelligence or to observe the motions of the enemy, whom you are to endeavour to sink, burn or otherwise destroy, if they shall come out, and you can meet them. But if they shall get out from thence, and you shall have intelligence you can depend on, that they are gone to the Mediterranean, you are then to give notice to the Joint Admirals of their going, and direct Sir John Jennings with the fifteen sail of the Grand Fleet, to repair to the Bay of Oeiras in the River of Lisbon, and to follow such orders as he shall receive from hence or find left there for him.

But there being several Victuallers to come to Plymouth with the Medway, Plymouth and Sunderland, which I have thought fit should stay there till you can be certain of the enemy's

[1] Royal Anne, Triumph, Albemarle, Somerset, Russell, Royal Oak, Resolution, Nassau, Firm, Monmouth, Dunkirk, Windsor

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proceedings at Brest, you are to order Sir John Jennings, if he is sent on with the fifteen sail aforesaid to Lisbon, either to go himself, or to take care to appoint a sufficient strength to fetch the said Victuallers from Plymouth, and convoy them in safety to Lisbon.

After you have given these directions, you are to cruise according to former orders, for the protection of the Soundings, and to give me frequent accounts of your proceedings.

Given under my hand the 11th day of June, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor, 11th June, 1705.

Sir,—This comes to cover the Prince's order of this day, for your going before Brest: the Cumberland and Dorsetshire sailed from Spithead the ninth with directions to look into Torbay, in their way to the station off of the Fornehead, it being apprehended that the ill weather on Wednesday and Thursday last, might have forced you in there. I hope they will hear of your being at Plymouth and join you there. The Medway, Plymouth and Sunderland will be ready tomorrow, and come along with the Rye, Gosport and Victuallers, with the very first opportunity, so that it is hoped you will be strong enough to deal with the Brest squadron, if you meet it; but all our intelligence here makes it probable that it is designed they shall make the best of their way to Toulon, and will be gone on their voyage before you will be in the way of preventing them; so that you will inform yourself, as soon as you can, whether they are gone or no, that Sir John

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Jennings may not be kept any longer than needs must, from the Joint Admirals who are very earnest to have him with them. You will see that the order of to-day differs from that which will be brought you by the Cumberland, and I believe you will like it better.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. CLARKE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas you have by your letter of the 9th instant, from Plymouth to my Secretary, desire that some of the prizes taken up and fitting out at Plymouth may be put under your command, that so you may employ them in freeing the coasts from the enemy's privateers, I do therefore hereby empower and direct you to take under your command the several prizes mentioned in the margin [1] hereof, the Captains whereof I do require to obey your orders. And as you are to do your utmost towards the fitting them out and manning them, so are you from time to time to employ them in such manner as you judge may tend most to the advantage of Her Majesty's Service.

Dated the 13th June, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM CAPTAIN ISAAC TOWNSEND

Albemarle at Hamoaze.
14th June, 1705.

Sir,—Having information that the hospital for sick and wounded at this place to which I had

[1] Valeur Fox
Enterprise Cruiser

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lately sent 60 men was very inconvenient and not fitting for their reception, I therefore this day sent one of my Lieutenants and Surgeons to it with command to give me an account of what they should observe touching the truth of that matter, who upon return do acquaint me that the rooms are very low and small having eight or ten beds in each, placed so close that you cannot easily pass from one to another and two in a bed, the light very little, not sufficient to give air, that some of the men were lying in their excrement and the linen in general very foul and scandalously nasty.

Sir, I have repeated just my Officers' words and do acquaint you of nothing but what is fact and what they saw with their eyes. I think men cannot reasonably be thought to recover so indifferently attended, pent up in such miserable lodging where they must certainly poison one another. It is an insufferable abuse to Her Majesty's service: therefore in discharge of my duty to you and justice to the poor men I think myself obliged to tell you, the hard usage they are under, remaining,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

ISAAC TOWNSEND.[1]

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Admiralty Office,
19th June, 1705.

Sir,—This will bring you some advices (which are sent you only as news) relating to the enemy's proceedings with their squadron at Brest. What I have in command to recommend to you is this,

[1] Appointed Commissioner at Portsmouth Dockyard, June, 1705.

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that you do take the best care you can to inform yourself what course the French ships steer in case they do come out, that so neither the Admirals of the Fleet or we at home may be deceived therein.

All that I have to add is that orders are prepared and sent to Windsor for the Prince his hand, and from whence they will be despatched to you by express, by which you are directed to proceed immediately to sea, without the Albemarle, and to take under your command one or two of the Lisbon convoy in case you meet with them, for which trade we are much in pain here, less the enemy should be out before you.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

J. BURCHETT.

I send you this by express.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor,
19th June, 1705.

Sir,—Your letter of the 15th was this morning laid before the Prince, who is very earnest to have you again at sea, though the Albemarle should not be ready to go along with you, for at this time it is extremely necessary that you should be in the way of securing the ships expected from Lisbon, and sending away Sir John Jennings as soon as possible, if the French should go to the Mediterranean, which it is believed here is their intention. The last advices from France make the Brest Squadron but seventeen sail of line,

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and say they were under sailing orders, so that it is not very improbable that they may be gone before you can get off of Brest ; and although the two ships from Port Louis should be got to Brest yet it is hoped the strength you will have with you is sufficient to deal with them.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. CLARKE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas I have ordered the Captain of the Albemarle to carry out to you from Plymouth all the Victualling ships, store ships and others, which are bound to Lisbon, as also the Fubbs Yacht, you are therefore hereby required and directed, so soon as they join you to appoint a fourth rate and two-fifths rate of the squadron under your command, to proceed as convoys to the aforesaid Victuallers, storeships and others, as also the Yacht to Lisbon, there being an absolute necessity that they should be at that place as soon as possibly may be ; and you are to direct the Captains of the said three ships, that when they have seen them in safety into the Bay of Oeiras, they remain there three or four days to bring home the trade under their convoy, if any shall be ready within that time, otherwise that they do immediately return to you to your station, and not finding you there, that they repair to Plymouth, and remain there till further order.

Given under my hand this 28th June, 1705.

GEORGE.

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FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor,
29th June, 1705.

Sir,—I have only time to let you know that your letters of the 24th and 25th off Ushant, came safe, and that there has not yet been an opportunity of receiving the Prince's pleasure about the Officers you have appointed, and desired may be confirmed, but that will be done very speedily. The Joint Admirals have written so pressingly for provisions, for the garrison of Gibraltar, that His R.H. has sent the Victuallers that were left at Plymouth by the Albemarle that you may hasten them to Lisbon, in order to be sent forward to the place where they are so much wanted. I hope they will arrive in safety at Portugal notwithstanding the six ships which the Swede told Captain Wynne he had met in the latitude of 46, for it is morally impossible there should be so many of the enemy ships of that force in those seas, besides those which you have seen in Brest.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
GEO. CLARKE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas I lately ordered the Albemarle to bring the Victuallers from Plymouth to join you off of Brest, and directed you to send them to Lisbon under the convoy of one fourth and two fifth rates with the Fubbs yacht; and whereas I am informed by your letter of the 29th past, that contrary winds have forced you from your

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station and that you were then off of Dartmouth ; you are therefore hereby required and directed, to take the said victuallers along with you from Plymouth when you return to your station, and if you find that the French are gone from Brest, and proceeded for the Straits, which makes it proper for you to send away Sir John Jennings according to your former orders, you are in such case to direct him to take charge of the victuallers, and convoy them to the Fleet under the command of the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Clowdisley Shovell, but if you find that only some part of the French are sailed from Brest, you are then to strengthen the convoy you send with the victuallers to Lisbon, in proportion to the ships that you find are gone out of Brest, sending me an account of what you do herein.

Given under my hand this 2nd July, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor,
2nd July, 1705.

Sir,—Besides sending you the order which comes with this, for your taking the victuallers from Plymouth &c., the Prince commands me to acquaint you that Her Majesty thinks it so much for her Service to have your squadron continue in a station where you may observe the enemy's motions at Brest, that she has been pleased to order beer, water, and refreshments to be sent you thither, to prevent your being obliged to leave it for want of those necessaries. If anything occurs to you upon this order which is proper for the

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Prince to know, His Royal Highness would have you lay it before him.

I am,
Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
GEO. CLARKE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas it is determined that besides the Litchfield and Hampshire, Her Majesty's ships the Breda and Northumberland shall be sent to you for strengthening the squadron under your command; and whereas there is a considerable number of ships expected from the East as well as the West Indies, for which the enemy's privateers are looking out in and about the Soundings; you are therefore hereby required and directed, immediately upon your receipt hereof to call a Council of War and consult with the Captains under your command what number of ships may be conveniently detached from your squadron, for the security of the aforesaid trades, so as that you may when the same is done, be superior to the enemy at Brest; and accordingly you are to detach such a number of ships as shall be judged proper, with orders to them to cruise in such manner and in such station or stations as you shall think most convenient for the meeting with and bringing safe into port such merchant ships of Her Majesty's subjects as shall be bound home as aforesaid, sending me an account what you do herein.

Given under my hand this 21st July, 1705.

GEORGE.

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FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor,
23rd July, 1705.

Sir,—I received your Commands of the 19th, and spoke to the Board of what you desired; but I am afraid they will hardly be brought to pay any ships at Plymouth, there being Minutes entered against it in the office, upon former and late petitions and a sort of resolution taken to the contrary, which they don't seem inclined to break.

I presume this will reach you before you get to sea again, where everybody wishes you, though in probability the enemy will not permit you to do anything; but you know, we are all obliged to do several things to obviate, or stop the clamours of people. I suppose you met some of the Victuallers at Plymouth who were to come to you with beer to prevent your leaving your Station; there are others at Portsmouth, that will be brought you by Litchfield, perhaps in company with the Hampshire and more that were lately in the river. I think it is resolved to send you as many other ships as can be got ready that you may be in condition to oppose Monsr. Coëtlogon,[1] and protect our trade also, which is looked for in the Soundings.

Pray give my humble services to Sir John Jennings,

and Believe me,
Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
GEO. CLARKE.

[1] Marquis de Cöetlogon, Vice-Admiral.

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas it hath been represented to me that the enemy's privateers do very much infest the coast about Mounts Bay you are hereby required and directed, when you shall be at Plymouth, as well as during your continuance off Ushant, or any other Station in the Soundings with the Squadron under your Command, to detach a ship or ships to cruise on the aforesaid Coast, off of Mounts Bay and thereabouts, to chase the Enemy's Privateers from thence, at such times as you can do the same, without inconvenience to the Service whereon you are employed.

Given under my hand this 25th July, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Admiralty Office,
26th July, 1705.

Sir,—You having by a late letter desired that the Worcester and several other ships may be paid at Plymouth, I am thereupon commanded to acquaint you, that beside the charge and inconvenience of sending money and clerks thither, the Prince is often troubled with Petitions against paying Ships there, one of which comes enclosed in the name of the wives of the company of seamen belonging to the Worcester, who upon their attending here with it some days since, were told that when she was paid, it would be at Portsmouth, his Royal Highness having resolved to pay the ships there that are employed to the Westward, the poor seamen's wives alleging that the going to

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Plymouth is the ruin of their families and are very clamorous on that account.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
J. BURCHETT.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Windsor,
5th August, 1705.

Sir,—Your letters of the 29th and 31st of last month from Plymouth, have been read to the Prince and his Royal Highness observing the difficulty you seem to be under, occasioned by the Orders you have received to appoint ships to several services, commands me to acquaint you, that the sending to Belle Isle and protecting the Soundings is what he chiefly recommends to your care; his Royal Highness has ordered two small vessels, more, to watch the Privateers that infest Bristol Channel and therefore there will be no need of your sending thither, and it was not His Royal Highness's intention, that you should appropriate any ships to cruise off of Mounts Bay, but only that as your Squadron or part shall have occasion to come from your Station into port, they should look into that Bay and drive away the Privateers, if they find any there.

The Litchfield and Hampshire were yesterday at St. Helens with the Victuallers, in order to come to you, and you will have the Breda and Northumberland as soon as the wind will allow them to join you.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
GEO. CLARKE.

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FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Admiralty Office,
9th August, 1705.

Sir,—Commissioner Greenhill[1] having sent hither some advice which he received from the Master of the Friend Galley of several ships cruising under the command of Monsr. De Guay and Monsr. Nesmond[2] in the Soundings, I am commanded by the Prince to send you a copy of the said advice enclosed for your information.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
J. BURCHETT.

His Royal Highness has directed me to give you notice that the Barbadoes Fleet is probably in the Soundings, that so you may take the best care you can for their security from the enemy, regard being had to the orders which you have received.

FROM CAPTAIN JOHN BAKER

This day the Worcester, Rochester, and Dunkirk, coming in here and acquainting me that you bore away on Saturday last, makes me believe you are at Portsmouth, or else we should have heard from you before now, and indeed I have been in very great pain for you; for we have had a very strange racket here with the last storm, for there are twelve sail of Merchantmen lost in the Sound and here, besides many more forced

[1] Commissioner at Portsmouth Dockyard.
[2] Marquis de Nesmond, Vice-Admiral.

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ashore and cut away their masts to make their ships ride it out, for the day before the storm happened the Chatham, Medway, Triton, and Auguste Prize came into the Sound and at night the Warwick with 39 sail of Merchantmen from the West Indies, and most of them have suffered little or much. The Warwick cut away all her masts and was very near being lost ; the Medway cut away her mizen-mast, and the Valeur her mainmast, but by good fortune the Chatham and Auguste came into Hamoaze the day before the storm happened but both drove ashore in the night without much damage and hardly any ship here rode fast, but drove little or much. If this bad weather had not happened the Firm, Exeter and myself should have been ready to sail on Sunday last, but believe now it will be Thursday before we shall be ready to sail into the Sound, but hope before this reaches you to receive your orders how to proceed. On Sunday last I gave the Secretaries of the Admiralty an account of what happened here and told them I believed you must of necessity been forced from your station to the Eastward of this place, and withal let them know that your orders were for us to join you in the rendezvous, but thought it was impossible you should be there, so I was in hopes that I should soon meet your further orders how to proceed, which if I should not desired that I might have His Royal Highness's further directions ; so I think to remain here till I receive yours or the Admiralty's orders. The Rochester complains she is leaking as likewise does the Medway, I believe wanting to be cleaned is the greatest reason of it. Pray speak my service to Sir John Jennings and to tell him that all his friends here have been very much afraid of the Royal Anne's oversetting.

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I have not time to mention the particulars of matters, so hope you'll forgive me and believe I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

J. BAKER.

Monmouth in Hamoaze,
August 14th, 1705.

FROM GEORGE CLARKE

Admiralty Office,
16 August, 1705.

Sir,—I am to own the receipt of your two letters of the 14th and 15th and am very glad yourself and squadron have escaped so well in the late storm, which I find has fallen very severely upon our Merchantmen both at Portsmouth and Plymouth. Upon reading your letter of the 14th to the Prince, his Royal Highness commands me to tell you, that he would have all the ships of your squadron got ready to go to sea again, as fast as they can, and as to the Great ships, which you propose should not be sent to the Westward again this year, his Royal Highness will give his directions, according to the Intelligence he shall receive, of what the enemy does.

I suppose you know that Captain Bokenham [1] took the Auguste which you saw him chase and brought her into Plymouth; and the Chatham being an old ship and shattered in this occasion, his Royal Highness has given Captain Bokenham a Commission for the Auguste, at his own desire.

There is nothing further to acquaint you at present, but that the late Captains of the Elizabeth and Fowey, will be sent down to Portsmouth, to

[1] Robert Bokenham.

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be tried for the loss of their ships, and the Judge Advocate is directed to make what haste he can to you, to prepare matters for the trial. I had almost forgot to let you know that the Exeter is ordered to convoy the West Indian Trade at Plymouth, to the Downs, and then repair to you to Spithead where you will please to leave orders for her, if you should happen to go from thence before she joins you.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

GEO. CLARKE.

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Admiralty Office,
25th August, 1705.

Sir,—I send you herewith fifty printed orders relating to the releasing of such Dutch ships as have been taken, and not to take any ships for the future, which have passes from the States General to trade to France, etc. and I am to signify the Prince's commands to you, to distribute them amongst the Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships at Spithead and in Portsmouth Harbour, or which shall hereafter come within your reach, who have not already received the same, and that you'll give an account how you dispose of them.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

J. BURCHETT.

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas you was forced by the late storm to come to Spithead with part of the squadron under your command, where the damages they sustained are repairing, and several other ships of the same squadron being now cleaning and refitting at Plymouth: so that there is not at this time any of Her Majesty's ships cruising in the Soundings, for security of the rich Trades expected from the East Indies, and that from the Plantations, and other parts; you are therefore hereby required and directed forthwith to give orders to Sir John Jennings, Rear Adm[ll]. of the Blue Squadron (who is now with you at Spithead) to hoist his flag either on board the Litchfield or Hampshire, and that he proceeds with the said ships to Plymouth, and there take under his command such of the ships of your squadron as he shall find are clean and ready for the sea, and that there he either shifts his flag on board one of those ships, or keeps it flying in that he proceeds with from Portsmouth, as he shall find it most convenient.

You are further to direct him to lose no time in proceeding into the Soundings with all such ships as shall be ready as aforesaid; and you are to appoint him such station or stations to cruise in as you judge the most proper for the security of the aforesaid homeward bound Trades from any attempts that may be made on you by the enemies' ships of war or privateers, directing him to give orders to the captains of the other ships of your squadron, which he shall not find ready at Plymouth to repair to him so soon as they shall be so, without staying one for the other.

And it being necessary that I should have as frequent accounts as possibly may be of the

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enemies' proceedings at Brest, you are to direct him from time to time, as he shall find it convenient, to send a frigate or two off of that Port, with orders to gain the best intelligence they can of the number of the enemies' ships there; what posture they are in, whether any of the great ships that were fitted out are disarmed; and if so, how many of them; whether any of them are sailed from Brest, and if so, when; what number, and to what parts; and that so often as he receives any advices fit for my knowledge he takes particular care to send me by express the soonest advice thereof that possibly he can.

You are also to direct him to continue to cruise till further order; and that if he gains intelligence that the enemy have any number of ships in and about the Soundings, so as that there may be a probability of his coming up to them, he uses his best endeavours to do the same, and to take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy them, without confining himself to the station or stations, which you do (pursuant hereunto) appoint him to cruise in which you are to give me an account of; that so I may the better know where to send orders to him upon any extraordinary occasion. Given under my hand this 25th of August, 1705.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas you are by my orders to you of the 25th inst. directed to give order to Sr. Jn. Jennings, Rear Adml. of the Blue, to hoist his flag aboard the Litchfield or Hampshire, and with those ships to sail to Plymouth, where he is to take under his command all such ships of your squadron, as he

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shall find them clean and ready for the sea, and proceed with into such stations in the Soundings as you shall judge proper for protection and security of the trade expected home from the East Indies and plantations; you are hereby required and directed, in case it should happen that the said Sir John Jennings by bad weather, or in chase of the enemies' ships, should be obliged to leave the station (which you shall think proper for him to cruise in) to appoint him such other stations as you shall think most convenient for joining with the squadron under your command when you come to sea. And whereas the Monmouth and Windsor are now fitting at Hamoaze and are designed for the service of the East India Company to look after their trade which is expected home; you are to give him orders not to take either of them to sea with him unless they are ready, and shall have received their sailing orders, and the East India Company's instructions, when Sir John Jennings shall be going out to sea, in which case he is to take them along with him as far as their way lies together, and then suffer them to prosecute their voyage: but if Sir John does not take them along with him, you are to do it when you call at Plymouth, if they are ready, and shall have received their sailing orders and instructions as aforesaid and when you have carried them as far as your way lies together, you are to leave them to prosecute their orders for bringing home the East India trade as aforesaid.

You are also hereby required and directed forthwith to cause one hundred of the Forem^{t}. men belonging to Her Majesty's ship the Royal Anne to be discharged and put aboard the Hampshire and Litchfield, to be borne by List upon those two ships, till Sir John Jennings comes with them to

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Plymouth, where he is to distribute the said men into such of the ships he is to go out with, as shall be most in want of them, and order them to be entered as part of the said ships' complements; and you are to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings. Given under my hand this 27th of August, 1705.

GEORGE.

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PART V

1706

MEDITERRANEAN OPERATIONS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

At the beginning of the year 1706 Byng was stationed at Portsmouth as commander-in-chief, his duties being to hasten the departure of warships and victuallers for Lisbon and to give protection to trade in the Channel. In January he came to London and received more detailed instructions from Prince George as to the first of these duties (see the two sets of instructions of 24th January).

Sir John Leake, having been left at Lisbon after the campaign of 1704, conducted a series of brilliant operations during the winter and ensuing spring by which he was able to keep Gibraltar provisioned while it was being defended by Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt against an overwhelming force of French and Spaniards.

In the summer of 1705 Shovell and Peterborough arrived in the Mediterranean, bringing with them 'His Majesty' the Archduke Charles, and together with Leake and Prince George of Hesse went to attack Barcelona, which fell in September, the Prince being killed in the assault.

Peterborough then landed in order to take command of the allied army and Shovell returned home again, leaving Leake to winter at Lisbon with a small squadron. All this time Byng had been employed in the Channel, but in January 1706 the English Government had definite information that the French were going to attempt the recapture of Barcelona by a combined operation before the allies could reach the Mediterranean in force. Hence the Admiralty's anxiety to get the ships to Lisbon in order that Leake, at any rate, might go to the relief of Barcelona as quickly as possible.

By March the situation had become so serious that Byng himself was ordered to join Leake at Lisbon, and called to town to receive special instructions, dated 4th March

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and signed by Mitchell, Paget and Fairborne, acting on behalf of Prince George of Denmark. Further instructions of 9th March directed him to call a council of war to decide on his future movements, supposing that on arriving at Lisbon he should find that Leake had already sailed.

All the documents for 1706 are taken from Byng's Order Book, which leaves a gap between his instructions of 18th March, while still at Spithead, and the ones issued to him by Leake in June and July. He had left Spithead in the Royal Anne at the end of March with fourteen of the line and a large convoy, and reached Lisbon on 11th April, where he remained only five days and then hurried on to the Mediterranean.

On 20th April he reached Altea, where he met Leake who had retired from Barcelona under pressure of the superior French fleet from Toulon under Toulouse. Marshall Tessé was also besieging Barcelona by land, and 'by that time had actually made his lodgment on the counterscarp of the city and was preparing for the final assault. There was not a moment to lose, and no sooner had Byng joined than a general chase was ordered. With every rag they could carry, the captains raced for Barcelona without order or thought of the consequences, so long as the leading ships could fasten their teeth in the French fleet and prevent its escape. It was a well-judged risk. Byng, having the cleanest ships, was the first to arrive, and it was to see Toulouse's rear-guard hull down towards Toulon. The allied admirals had missed their fight, but Barcelona was saved.'[1]

Thus Sir Julian Corbett graphically describes the relief, but Professor Callender's publication of Sir John Leake's Life in 1920 shows that the allies' movements were not quite so precipitate. Apparently they left Altea the same day that Byng arrived and sailed for Tarragona, but encountered such strong northerly winds during 21st and 22nd April (O.S.) that they were driven back again to Altea.

Off Cape de la Náo they held a council of war and

[1] *England in the Mediterranean*, vol. ii. p. 549.

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decided to approach Barcelona by running north of Iviza and Majorca. On 25th April (O.S.) they were off Tortosa and delayed by a calm, but got under way again, and next day received a letter from the Archduke at Barcelona (4th May, N.S.), imploring them to make haste. It was not till then, therefore, that they fully appreciated the desperate position of the city, upon which Leake, after holding a council of war, gave his orders for a general chase to the rescue.

Byng and Wassenaer managed to reach Barcelona on 27th April (O.S.), only to find that Toulouse, warned by a look-out tartan, had already gone, and three days after Tessé raised the siege.

Byng is represented in Sir John Leake's *Life* as having nearly caused the fall of Barcelona by waiting too long in England in order to get command of the Royal Anne and in manning her with a picked crew, instead of taking the first men who came to hand. He is also accused of delay at Lisbon on the way out. These views need not be taken too seriously, either as censures on Byng or signs of jealousy in Leake. His biographer, as Professor Callender points out, is strongly biassed in his hero's favour, and Byng and many others get less than justice at his hands.

After the relief of Barcelona, Leake decided through a council of war to take the fleet and the transports and stores for the land campaign to Valencia, and then to sail to Alicante and summon it in the name of ' King Charles.' Leaving Barcelona on 18th May Leake reached Valencia on the 24th, where he received instructions from the Queen directing him to co-operate with the Duke of Savoy in combined operations on the Riviera coast against Toulon.

Immense complications of a personal nature ensued between Leake and Peterborough, but eventually another council of war, held on 30th May, decided in favour of the original project against Alicante. The fleet sailed on 1st June and was off Altea on the 4th, when some Spanish gentlemen came off from the shore and informed Leake Alicante was being held in force by the enemy, but that Carthagena would welcome an allied occupation.

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Accordingly, after another council of war, the fleet sailed to Carthagena, which was reached on 12th June and submitted the next day. Leake then sailed for Altea on the 18th, leaving as garrison a force of English and Dutch seamen and marines, (Byng's instructions of 18th June).

After further altercations, in which the whole value of the fleet was jeopardised through waste of time in choosing a proper objective and through trouble with Peterborough, it was decided to proceed with the original operation against Alicante.

The fleet left Altea on 24th June, and arrived off Alicante two days later. But further delays followed, due to the difficulty of holding all the elements in the allied forces to their purpose, which was of course aggravated by the egoism and capriciousness of Peterborough.

On 20th July, however, Byng was ordered to bombard the city with a special squadron, which he accomplished with considerable effect. Combined operations were then begun and the city captured on 28th July, although the castle still held out under General Mahoni. After a magnificent defence he was forced to capitulate owing to lack of water, and on 28th August marched out with the honours of war.

Another period of discussion as to future objectives followed, out of which it was resolved to accept the suggestion of the Archduke's German Viceroy of Catalonia, which was to capture the island of Iviza. Leaving Alicante on 2nd September they touched at Altea, and were off Iviza on the 8th, the island declaring for ' King Charles ' at once. Sailing again on 13th September, they crossed to Majorca (Mallorca) and summoned its Viceroy, who was occupying the castle at Palma. He refused to surrender, and Byng is represented in Leake's *Life* as being in favour of giving up the enterprise owing to lack of ammunition. Leake, however, persisted, and after a short bombardment the civil population rose in revolt and forced the Viceroy to surrender on 17th September.

The fleet then sailed for England, Byng being ordered to remain at Lisbon with a squadron for the winter, to

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act as commander-in-chief at what was then our most advanced naval base for Mediterranean operations. He received very precise instructions from Leake, dated 28th September, directing him to keep in touch with the allied land forces in Spain and to be ready to revictual Gibraltar, which was still incapable of maintaining a fleet in winter. He was also to arrange for protecting allied trade and for preventing any naval attack on Portugal.

The joint fleet passed the Straits on 2nd October, and Byng then altered course with his squadron for Lisbon, where he received further instructions from Prince George of Denmark and Sir Clowdisley Shovell defining his duties for the winter more particularly.

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas it is absolutely necessary for her Majesty's service that a Flag Officer of the Fleet should forthwith repair to Portsmouth to inspect into and quicken not only the dispatch of all Her Majesty's ships which are fitting out at that port, but more especially those which are designed for the Main Fleet, and the Convoys that are, or may be appointed to conduct to Lisbon and Catalonia the regiments which are designed thither both from Plymouth and Ireland, and also the trade and ships or vessels which are or may be taken up to carry provisions, and naval and ordnance store to Lisbon ; You are therefore hereby required and directed to repair to Portsmouth as soon as possibly may be, and upon your arrival there you are to inform yourself in what condition the ships are, which are fitting out for the service of the Main Fleet abroad, a list of which ships is herewith sent unto you, and as you are to use your utmost endeavours to quicken the dispatch of the said ships, and to send them to Spithead as fast as they are ready, so are you to give frequent accounts to my Secretary for my information of their condition, with respect as well to the number of men borne and mustered on board each of them, as to all other circumstances that may be fit for my knowledge.

And as you are to take care that the officers belonging to the said ships be kept to their duty, yet you are at liberty to give leave to any of them to be absent (provided the ships whereunto they

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belong, are not in the Dock cleaning, or have not been cleaned) upon their application to you, when it shall appear unto you to be reasonable, and that their said absence may not be prejudicial to Her Majesty's service. And you are to give it in strict charge to the captains of the said ships, that they do use their utmost endeavours to keep their men to their duty, and to prevent their taking the liberty they have done, and now do, of absenting themselves, and rambling up and down the country.

And when it shall appear to you that anything obstructs the dispatch of the ships before mentioned, wherein my orders may be necessary to remove such obstructions, you are to give me an account thereof, as you are from time to time to propose unto me anything that you shall judge may be necessary to be done for the more speedy and effectual carrying on her Majesty's services at the aforesaid port of Portsmouth. Given under my hand this 24th Jan., 1705/6.

GEORGE.

LIST OF MEN OF WAR AT PORTSMOUTH DESIGNED MAIN FLEET IN 1706, AND FITTING THERE

1.	Britannia	Newark
	Royal Anne	Dorsetshire
2.	Association	Devonshire
	Albemarle	Royal Oak
	Namur	Eagle
	Triumph	Essex
3.	Cumberland	Firm
	Shrewsbury	Orford
	Somerset	Canterbury

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas it is absolutely necessary for Her Majesty's service that the Transport Ships which are to take in two regiments at Plymouth for Catalonia, as also those ships and vessels that are laden with provisions, and naval and ordnance stores, and the trade bound to Lisbon, the which will be conveyed from the Downs to St. Helens by her Majesty's ships the Warwick and Sheerness, should immediately be carried forward on their voyage upon their arrival there : you are therefore hereby required and directed to give orders to the captains of Her Majesty's ships the Resolution and Ipswich, that they do take all possible care to get the said ships in a condition in all respects to proceed on service, and repair with them to St. Helens, and you are to give the like directions to the captains of the Litchfield and Hampshire, to make all possible dispatch in the getting those ships ready, and in proceeding with them to St. Helens without the loss of a moment's time. And whereas I have appointed those four ships to be the convoy to the aforesaid transports, victuallers and storeships and trade, you are to give orders to the senior captains of them to take the other three under his command, and that immediately upon the arrival of the said transports, and other ships, he takes them under his care and protection, so as that (if it can be prevented) they may not come to an anchor, and proceed with them to Plymouth, where the transports are to take in the two regiments before mentioned.

You are to order the said commanders-in-chief to cause all possible dispatch to be made in the performance of that service, and that when the

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forces shall be embarked, he does without any loss of time proceed with them, as also all the store-ships, victuallers and the trade, to Lisbon, and follow such orders as he shall there receive from Sir Jn. Leake, or the Commander-in-Chief of the squadron of Her Majesty's ships at that port. And you are to order him to have a particular regard to the outward bound East India Ships in protecting them so far as his and their way shall lie together.

But in regard there are several merchant ships and vessels at Topsham which are bound to Lisbon, you are to order the Commander-in-Chief to send one of the 4th rates before him to call out the said trade, and to carry the same to Plymouth, and that he send notice overland to Topsham, by what time the said ship may be expected, that so they may get themselves ready to go out and join her.

But if when you arrive at Portsmouth, you shall find that the transport ships fitting there shall be ready before the aforesaid victualling ships, transports and others before mentioned arrive from the Downs at St. Helens, you are then to order the Commander-in-Chief of the four ships aforesaid to take the said transports under his care and protection, and to proceed with them to Plymouth, and from thence to Lisbon, as is before directed, so soon as the Forces shall be embarked, and that he sends a ship before to Topsham to call out the trade from thence.

And you are further to direct the said Commander-in-Chief to cause all possible dispatch to be made in the shipping of the marines appointed for them at Plymouth, and that in case there shall not be room in the transport ships to take in all the soldiers, he causes such as cannot be accom-

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modated in them, to be received on board the ships under his command, and victualled in their passage.

But in regard some, if not all the four ships aforementioned, may be in want of men you are to cause the Resolution and Ipswich to be manned up to their highest complements, and the Litchfield and Hampshire to their middle, out of such other ships at Portsmouth as you shall judge most for the advantage of her Majesty's service; But you are to order the captains of the said ships Litchfield and Hampshire, to endeavour to make up their highest complements as they have opportunities for it, and if the transports at Portsmouth shall not be able to sail without lending them 2 or 3 men each, from the men of war, you are to order the Commander-in-Chief to do it.

And whereas the seven ships named in the margin [1] hereof are likewise to be sent to Lisbon, one of which, the Stirling Castle is in the river, and the other six at Portsmouth, you are to cause such four of those six as are in the best condition, to be immediately got ready, and sent out to Spithead, that they may either proceed with the victuallers, storeships, transports and others, which are going to St. Helens from the Downs, or with the transports from Portsmouth.

And in case they shall be in want of men, you are to cause them to be manned to their highest compliments, out of the other ships in Portsmouth Harbour, and then you are to give orders to the Commander-in-Chief of them to proceed either on the one service, or the other, according as is before

[1] Stirling Castle, Somerset, Royl. Oak, Newark, Firm Prize, Dorsetshire, Cumberland

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directed : that so neither the aforesaid transports, victuallers, and others from the Downs, nor the transport ships at Portsmouth may not each of them want a particular convoy, to see them first to Plymouth and then to Lisbon, according to the instructions before mentioned ; and of your proceedings herein, you are from time to time to give me a particular account.

Given under my hand this 24th Jany., 1705/6.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas it is absolutely necessary that the convoy which you appoint to the victualling and transport ships, bound to Lisbon, which are coming to you from the Downs, as also the trade and such vessels as are laden with naval and ordnance stores, should be strengthened, because the safe conducting them thither is of the greatest importance to Her Majesty's service. You are therefore hereby required and directed to cause her Majesty's ships the Somerset and Royal Oak to be immediately put into a condition to proceed on the aforesaid voyage to Lisbon, and that if they are not already gone out to St. Helens, they do the same without the loss of a moment's time ; and you are to add those two ships to the four which I have already directed you to appoint to convoy the aforementioned victualling ships, transport ships and the trade to Lisbon ; and give the senior captain of them orders to proceed thither, as you are directed by my late instructions. And in case the said ships Somerset and Royal Oak shall be in want of men you are to cause them to

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be manned to their highest complement out of the other ships in Portsmouth Harbour.

Given under my hand this 28th Jany., 1705/6.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas by my orders which you have already received, the six ships named in the margin[1] hereof are appointed convoy to the transports, victualling ships, storeships and trade which are coming to St. Helens from the Downs: You are to cause all possible diligence to be used in the getting them ready for that particular service, and when the aforesaid ships arrive from the Downs you are to send the said six ships with them to Plymouth, where the transports are to take in 2 regiments of foot, and when they shall have so done, you are to direct the Commander-in-Chief of the said six ships to make the best of his way with them, the victuallers, storeships and trade to Lisbon, according to the several particulars contained in my instructions to you, dated the 24th inst. And you are to direct him, when he arrives at Lisbon to proceed forward to Catalonia, according to such orders as shall either be given to him by Sir Jn. Leake, or which shall be left there for him.

And whereas I have by my orders of the 28th inst. directed you to get in readiness as soon as possibly may be, four other ships of the third rate now at Portsmouth, to convoy the transport ships now there to Ireland; you are to make all

[1] Resolution, Royl. Oak, Ipswich, Hampshire, Somerset, Litchfield

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possible dispatch in the getting the four ships named in the margin [1] ready in all respects, and to send them out to St. Helens, and man them as I have already directed. And when they and the transport ships shall be ready to sail, you are to order the Commander-in-Chief of the said four ships to make the best of his way with them and the transport ships to Cork in Ireland, and that so soon as they have taken aboard the three regiments, he proceeds with them without loss of time to Lisbon, and from thence to Catalonia, according to such orders as will be given by Sir Jn. Leake, or which shall be left by him there. But in regard the Stirling Castle is going from the Nore to Spithead if she arrives timely, you are to join her to this convoy ; or if the Canterbury now at Portsmouth can be got ready soon enough, you are to order her to accompany them.

Given under my hand this 30th Jany., 1705/6.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S COUNCIL

Whereas it is of very great importance to Her Majesty's service that the squadron of ships now at Lisbon, under command of Sir John Leake, Vice Admiral of the White, should be strengthened as soon as possibly may be ; you are therefore hereby required and directed (by virtue of the power and authority to us given by His Royal Highness) to cause the utmost diligence to be used in the getting in a readiness the ships named in

[1] Newark Dorsetshire
Cumberland

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the margin,[1] which are now at Portsmouth or Spithead, with respect not only to their compliments of men, but stores and provisions, and all other particulars. And when they shall be in a readiness to sail, you are to make the best of your way with them off of Plymouth, sending before you one of the ships to call out to you from thence the Cambridge, if she shall be ready, and if so, you are to take her under your command, otherwise you are not to make any stay for her. And in case Her Majesty's ships the Stirling Castle and Monk shall join you at Spithead or St. Helens, before you sail, you are to take them along with you, their captains being hereby required to obey your orders.

When you shall be off of Plymouth, you are either with or without the Cambridge (according to the readiness she shall be in) to make the best of your way from thence to Lisbon with all the ships that shall be then under your command, where being arrived, you are to follow such orders as you shall receive from Sir Jn. Leake if he shall be there at your arrival, or as he shall leave at the port in case you find he is sailed.

But in regard there are several transport ships employed by the offices of the Navy, Ordnance, Victualling and Transportation, which are bound to Lisbon, some of which are now at Spithead, and others which will be convoyed thither by the ships in the Downs, you are to make strict enquiry for all such ships and vessels and take particular care to convoy so many of them as shall be within your reach, and in a readiness to accompany you. And

[1] Royal Anne, Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Essex, Medway, Mary, Canterbury

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you are to send frequent accounts of your proceedings thither. Dated at the Admiralty Office this 4th March, 1705/6.

D. MITCHELL
H. PAGET
S. FAIRBORNE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S COUNCIL

Whereas there is a detachment of three hundred recruits for the Guards in Spain which are to proceed to Lisbon under your convoy in some transport ships that are ordered to Spithead; and Col. Bissett[1] who commands the detachment having represented that in case any of the men should fall sick in the voyage, there is no surgeons aboard any of the transports to take care of them, and therefore desiring that if there should be occasion for a surgeon, he may have the assistance of one or more of the surgeons' mates of Her Majesty's ships under your command. You are therefore, by virtue of the power and authority to us given to act in the affairs of the Admiralty, hereby required and directed to give the necessary orders to the surgeons of the said ships to assist the soldiers when sick during voyage, according as is desired, their officers paying for the medicines, directing the surgeons to keep an exact account of the expense thereof. And you are to order Col. Bissett to be received aboard one of the ships of your squadron, with his servants and necessaries, and that they be allowed victuals during

[1] Andrew Bissett, Lieut.-General 1735.

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their passage, as the ship's company, and the Colonel such accommodation as can be afforded.

Dated at the Admiralty Office this 4th Mar., 1705/6.

D. MITCHELL
H. PAGET
R. WALPOLE
S. FAIRBORNE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S COUNCIL

Whereas the Principal Officers and Commissioners of Her Majesty's Navy have contracted with Mr. Taylor to import masts for the service of Her Majesty's Navy from New England, and the said Mr. Taylor having sent two ships to Lisbon, which are to take in the said masts, namely, the Thanet and New Hampshire; the former of which is to unload stores at the said port: And whereas it is of very great importance to Her Majesty's service, that so soon as the said stores shall be delivered those two ships should be dispatched from Lisbon to New England with a fitting convoy to protect them thither, and from thence home, so soon as they shall be laden: you are therefore hereby required and directed (by virtue of the power and authority to us given by His Royal Highness to act in the affairs of the Admiralty) so soon as the aforesaid ship Thanet shall be discharged of the stores she has aboard to appoint such ship of the fourth rate under your command, as you shall judge the most proper to perform the service, and direct her captain to take under his care and protection both the Thanet and the New Hampshire, and without loss of time to

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proceed with them to Boston in New England, where the latter is to put on shore some merchants goods.

You are further to direct him, that so soon as the New Hampshire shall have put on shore the said goods, he makes no delay but proceeds with her and the Thanet to Piscataqua,[1] and that he remains there (without cruising on the coast, by which time may be lost, or other accidents happen) until the said ships shall have taken in their loading, and that then he does without any loss of time repair with them direct to Spithead, where one of the ships is to unload, and from thence to the Buoy of the Nore with the other.

And you are also to direct the captain of the ship which you do send on this service, to apply himself to the Governor of New England or New York, when the mast ships shall be almost loaden, that so the trade bound home may be in a readiness to sail with him, and such as shall be so ready when he comes from Piscataqua, you are to direct him to bring under his convoy to England.

And as you are to take particular care to send with him all ships and vessels which shall be bound to New England or elsewhere, so far as his and their way shall lie together, and whose masters shall desire such convoy, so are you also to have a particular regard that the ship be furnished with such provisions as may be necessary for her voyage, directing her captain to put his men to short allowance if he thinks fitting, and that in such case he does assure them that they shall be only paid for the same.

You are also to direct him to give unto such merchant ships and vessels as shall from time to time be under his convoy, such instructions as

[1] The Piscataqua River divides Maine from New Hampshire.

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may be fitting for their keeping company with him, and meeting him again, in case of separation, or for their security and defence upon meeting with an enemy, and that he transmits hither by all opportunities an account of his proceedings.

Dated at the Admiralty Office this 4th of March, 1705/6.

D. MITCHELL
GEO. CHURCHILL
H. PAGET
R. WALPOLE
S. FAIRBORNE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S COUNCIL

In case when you arrive at Lisbon, you shall find Sir John Leake sailed from thence with the squadron under his command, and that he has not left any orders there for you: you are (by virtue of the power and authority to us given, by His Royal Highness to act in the affairs of the Admiralty) hereby required and directed to govern yourself in joining Sir John Leake, as shall be judged most for Her Majesty's service by a Council of War, according to the intelligence you shall receive, or in the proceedings with, and employing the ships under your command in such manner as (according to circumstances of affairs) shall be thought most advisable by the said Council of War.

Dated at the Admiralty Office this 9th March, 1705/6.

D. MITCHELL
GEO. CHURCHILL.

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S COUNCIL

Whereas we are informed by the Navy Board, that Mr. Gould and Mr. Hall have sent to Mr. David Jefferies their Agent at Boston in New England to provide freights for the tar they have provided there, for the service of Her Majesty's Navy: you are therefore (by virtue of the power and authority to us given by His Royal Highness to act in the affairs of the Admiralty) hereby required and directed to order the commander of the ship which you shall appoint to convoy Mr. Taylor's mast ships pursuant to our orders to you of the 4th inst., to take the like care of convoying such ship or ships from New England to England, as the said Mr. Jefferies shall load tar in for the Navy, as he does of the said mast ships.

Dated at the Admiralty Office 12th March, 1705/6.

D. MITCHELL
GEO. CHURCHILL.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Upon consideration of your letter of yesterday's date, I do hereby direct and require you, to take under your convoy the several transport ships which are going to Catalonia with some forces of the States General, as also such merchant ships and vessels as shall be ready to sail, and bound your way. And in case the ships designed for the Main Fleet which are bound to Spithead from the Downs, as also those going from the Nore, shall

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join you before the wind presents for your sailing, and that you are ready to proceed (the names of which ships are mentioned in the margin [1] hereof) you are to take them with you, but if they do not timely join you, you are not to make any stay for them, least by your so doing, an opportunity of wind be lost for your getting out of the Channel.

Given under my hand this 13th March, 1705/6.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas Her Majesty did signify Her pleasure last night in Cabinet Council, that you should not sail from Spithead until the ships named in the margin [2] hereof join you from the Downs, as also that the Cumberland, Dorsetshire and Newark (as well as the Cambridge) should be stopped at Plymouth, until you call them from thence in your passage out of the Channel: you are therefore hereby required and directed, in pursuance of Her Majesty's pleasure, to remain at Spithead or St. Helens, in a constant readiness to sail with the ships of war, transports and trade now with you, until the aforesaid ships, St. George, Revenge, Stirling Castle, Monk and Dover join you, and so soon as you shall be so joined, you are to make use of the very first opportunity of a wind in proceeding off Plymouth, where you are to join the Cambridge, Cumberland, Dorsetshire and Newark (in case the three last are not sailed to Ireland)

[1] DOWNS;
Stirling Castle
Monk
NORE;
St. George
Revenge
Dover
Winchester
Phœnix, Hunter } fsps.

[2] St. George
Revenge
Stirling Castle
Monk
Dover

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and then make the best of your way to Lisbon and put in execution the orders you have already received from me.

But in regard Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, that four hundred men shall be carried to Lisbon with the ships that proceed under your command as a supply to the squadron with Sir John Leake: you are therefore hereby required and directed, to take as many men from the Triumph and Albemarle as you can get, except the servants to commission and warrant officers, and mates and midshipmen, and having so done, you are to make up the number you get from those ships to three hundred from the Orford, and from the Kent at Plymouth; I have directed the Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's ships at that port to take one hundred good men and put them aboard some of the ships which are to call out from thence: the wages of all which men, for their service in the ships from whence they remove, I have directed the Navy Board to pay unto them before you sail from Spithead, or the other ships sail from Plymouth.

You are to give orders that the said men be born as supernumeraries on the books of the ships wherein they shall be put, both for wages and victuals, until they shall be disposed of, when you join Sir John Leake, as intended. But in regard it may so happen that when you come to Lisbon, you may find some ships of Sir John Leake's squadron at that port, and in a condition for the sea in all other respects but men; you are in such case to put such of the men which you carry with you from hence for their supply, on board them as you shall judge necessary, and when you proceed from Lisbon, you are to take such of the said ships with you as you can get in a readiness to

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accompany you, but not to make any further stay for them, than may be necessary for your supplying them with men as aforesaid : Nor are you even to do that, in case when you arrive at Lisbon, you shall find by the orders left there for you, or by intelligence, or the circumstances of affairs, it may be prejudicial to the service to make any such stay.

But in regard the Winchester, and the Hunter and Phœnix Fireships may probably join you with the ships from the Downs : In case they do the same, or come within sight of you before you sail from St. Helens, you are to take them also along with you.

Given under my hand this 18th March, 1705/6.

GEORGE.

FROM SIR JOHN LEAKE

Whereas it was resolved at a Council of War held on the 6th inst., that about six hundred English Marines should be landed from Her Majesty's ships near Carthagena, as likewise as many Marines from the ships of the States General as can be spared, together with as many seamen as shall be thought necessary to give encouragement to the inhabitants of that city to declare for King Charles the Third. You are hereby required and directed to take the said officers, soldiers and seamen under your command, and when they are landed you are to march them as near to that place as may be convenient to facilitate the same ; and if you shall be assured of a ready compliance, and that they are willing to receive a garrison into

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the city and forts : you are to leave such a number of soldiers under the command of the senior officer (till further order) as shall be thought convenient by the Conde de Santa Cruz and the Magistrates of the city, giving such orders for the peace and security of the place as shall be necessary, and then return with the rest of the forces to the fleet ; but in case you do not find the inhabitants inclinable to declare for His Majesty, and that it may be hazardous to force them to their obedience, you are then to return with the forces to the fleet taking particular care to avoid any ambush that may be laid either in marching towards the city or retreating : for which this shall be your warrant. Dated on board the Prince George off of Carthagena, 18th June, 1706.

J. LEAKE.

FROM SIR JOHN LEAKE

Whereas it is resolved at a Council of War held this day, that five English and three Dutch ships of the line be sent in to cannonade the city of Alicante. You are hereby required and directed to take the ships named in the margin [1] under your command, and give directions to their respective commanders to get their ships in a readiness for that service, and when I hoist a red flag at my mizen topmast-head, and fire a gun : you are to take your own time and proceed and anchor with them in a line, as near the shore as may be convenient to perform the aforesaid service, but not

[1] Shrewsbury, Revenge, Hampton Court, Somerset, Dorsetshire, Walgaren, North Holland, Muyden

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to go into less than five fathom water, ordering all the commanders to give directions to their officers to point their guns only at the enemies' batteries, or where they see a number of men together, and after the first broadside not to fire a shot till the smoke is dispersed, that they may the better see the object they aim at, and to leave firing, after the enemies' guns are dismounted, or the men retired from them, which is not to be repeated unless there be an absolute occasion. You are to continue upon this service as long as you think may be convenient to give our forces an opportunity to make a lodgement in the suburbs, or gaining the city: And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Dated on board the Prince George in Alicante Road, July 20th, 1706.

J. LEAKE.

FROM SIR JOHN LEAKE

Pursuant to the resolution taken at a Council of War this day, you are hereby required and directed to take the ships named in the margin [1] under your command, and with those at present in company when I hoist a blue flag at my main topmast-head, and fire a gun, you are to proceed to Lisbon, and direct the refitting and cleaning

[1]
Royal Anne
St. George
Somerset
Shrewsbury
Cambridge
Newark
Burford
Stirling Castle
Rupert
Ipswich
Revenge
Resolution
Winchester
Leopard
Panther
Newcastle
Garland
Enterprise
Phœnix, Griffin } fsps.
Swift Sloop

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them with all possible expedition, and order their cruising in such stations as you may judge most effectual for disturbing and destroying the enemy, and guarding the coast of Portugal, as the treaty required, so as you may call and have them together to proceed upon any emergent or special service, in conjunction with the squadron of the States General which is to join you from Holland.

If the Earl of Peterborough shall at any time give you notice, that it is necessary for a part or your whole squadron to go to the coast of Spain or Catalonia, and you have none of Her Majesty's or His Royal Highness's commands to perform, you are to comply with his Lordship's directions, if it shall be thought advisable by a Council of War. And if the Ministers of England and Holland residing at Lisbon, or the Earl of Galway shall on any occasion propose to you to send to the assistance of the Army, or to any of the garrisons on the sea coast, in possession of Her Majesty's forces, any men, arms, ammunition or money, you are to consider at a Council of War, how far you are able to assist in the performance of the same, and put in execution such resolutions as shall be taken.

You are to inform yourself as soon as possible of the condition of the garrison of Gibraltar; and when application shall be made to you by the Commanding Officer for Ammunition, Victuals and Stores of which the garrison shall stand in need, you are to supply them from time to time with what may be judged necessary and may be spared from the squadron, or out of the stores at Lisbon. You are likewise to take the same care (if there be occasions) to supply the garrisons on the sea coast in possession of the English.

You are to send home to the Secretary to His

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Royal Highness an account from time to time of your resolutions and proceedings for his Royal Highness's information. Dated aboard the Prince George at sea on September 28th, 1706.

J. LEAKE.

FROM LORD PETERBOROUGH

Whereas I have thought fit and necessary to send Her Majesty's ship the Winchester and the Fubbs Yacht directly to Lisbon, to clean and refit with all expedition, and to return with the money for the troops, and what orders there may be from England; you are hereby desired and directed for the better security of such moneys or orders to appoint the first clean ships to return with them, or to increase their strength if you think it necessary, giving the Commodore such orders and instructions as you shall think most proper and safe, to make either for Carthagena, Alicante, Altea or Denia, according to the advices you may have of the enemy, commanding him immediately upon his arrival at any port to send me an express of it, and if I am not in those parts to the Commanding Officer with the Queen's troops, where the King of Spain is in person, as likewise to the Commanding Officer of the forces in the Kingdom of Valencia, and after they have so done, they may put to sea again, returning every ten days to Altea or Alicante, till they shall receive any orders from the King of Spain, signified to them by Mr. Stanhope, Her Majesty's Envoy, or from myself.

And whereas several corn and ordnance store ships were left in Alicante and Carthagena road

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after the fleet was sailed, I have appointed her Majesty's ship the Leopard to take them under her convoy, and proceed with them to Lisbon, where he is to put himself under your command, and you are desired to send the corn and ordnance storeships by the first opportunity of a convoy to England.

Given on board Her Majesty's ship Resolution off of Iviza, 12th of September, 1706.

PETERBOROUGH.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas the envoy from the King of Portugal has delivered a memorial to Her Majesty, desiring that the Portuguese convoy for their outward bound Brazil fleet may be joined by a sufficient number of her Majesty's ships, to preserve so rich a trade from becoming prize to the enemy; and whereas Her Majesty thinks fit that they shall be gratified in the said request; I do therefore (in pursuance of Her Majesty's pleasure) hereby direct and require that when the aforesaid fleet bound to Brazil shall be ready to sail, you do consider what number of her Majesty's ships may be convenient to add to their convoy, and accordingly to direct the said ships to accompany them so far into the sea, as shall be thought necessary to secure them from the ships of war or privateers of the enemy, and that then they leave them to proceed on their voyage and make the best of their way back to you.

Given under my hand this 15th October, 1706.

GEORGE.

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas I have ordered the Captains of Her Majesty's ships the Norfolk and Warspight to proceed to Lisbon with the trade bound thither, and then to put themselves under your command; and whereas it may so happen that some time after their arrival there may be a considerable number of merchant ships and vessels in a readiness to sail from Lisbon, and the ports in Portugal to England; you are therefore hereby required and directed to inform yourself by which time the said trade may be ready to sail, and appoint such so many of the ships under your command as you shall judge proper to be their convoys, either out of those which are now with you at Lisbon, or such as are now going, or shall be afterwards sent to you, giving orders to their Commanders to take particular care in convoying the aforesaid trade in safety to England, and that they call in at Plymouth, and proceed from thence to the Downs, in case they find not other orders lodged at Plymouth for them, and you are to give notice to my Secretary for my information of what you do herein.

Given under my hand this 15th October, 1706.

GEORGE.

[Letter endorsed] 'A commission to Sir G. Byng to hold Courts Martial. Oct. 29th, 1706.'

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas I have ordered each of the ships named in the margin [1] to bring to Lisbon 40 tons

[1] Chichester, Elizabeth, Restoration, Torbay

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of Her Majesty's tin, and to deliver it into the charge of the Commissioner of the Navy there, in order to its being sent from thence for Italy; You are therefore hereby required and directed, as opportunity presents for it, to cause the said tin to be received aboard some of Her Majesty's ships and carried to Italy, and delivered into the charge of such person or persons there, to whom the same shall be consigned, or as the Lord High Treasurer [1] shall direct. And you are to order the Captains of the ships to direct their boatswains to give receipts to the Commissioner of the Navy at Lisbon, for the quantity and number of casks which they receive from him, so are the said boatswains to take receipts in like manner from the persons to whom the said tin shall be delivered, the which are to be transmitted to my Secretary, to be delivered to the Lord High Treasurer, as also an account of what ships the said tin shall be sent in to Italy.

Given under my hand the 14th Nov., 1706.

GEORGE.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas I have ordered Sr. Thomas Dilkes to repair to Lisbon with the ships named in the margin [2] (by whom these orders will be brought you). And whereas I have given directions to Sir Clo. Shovell, Admll. of Her Majesty's Fleet, to leave at Lisbon five ships of the 4th rate, and two others of the 5th or 6th, one of which ships of the 4th rate is to proceed to the Canaries, and convoy

[1] Lord Godolphin

[2] Torbay — Restoration
Chichester — Elizabeth;
[Capt.] Trevanian

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the trade from thence to England, and the others to bring home the trades from Lisbon and the other ports in Portugal; You are therefore hereby required and directed, in case this finds you at Lisbon, and that the aforesaid ships shall be left there by Sir Clo. Shovell, to give orders to the Captains of such one of the 4th rates as you judge the most proper, to make the best of his way to the Canaries, and that he remains there till the merchant ships shall be laden, and then repairs with them to England, calling in at Plymouth, and finding no orders there to the contrary, to make the best of his way to the Downs, and remain there till further order.

You are also to make choice of such two fourth, and one 5th or 6th rate as may be most proper, to convoy home the trade from Lisbon, and to the Commander-in-Chief of those ships you are to give orders to remain at Lisbon until the bulk of the fleet shall be laden, and that then, without calling at any of the other ports he takes under his care and protection all such merchant ships and vessels as shall be ready to sail, and makes the best of his way with them to England as far as the Downs, in case he finds not orders to the contrary at Plymouth, where you are to direct him to call.

You are also to make choice of such other two ships of the 4th rate and one of the 5th or 6th as you shall judge the most proper, to convoy the trades from the Northern coasts of the Kingdom of Portugal, and give orders to the Commander-in-Chief of them to remain at Lisbon 60 days after the arrival of the trade at those ports, and that then he proceeds with the ships under his command, and calls first at Figuera, next at Aviero then at Oporto, and last of all at Viana, and

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brings from thence to England, as aforesaid, all such merchant ships and vessels as shall be ready to sail, and for the better enabling the said trade to come out and join him, you are to order him to remain two days, if need be, and that he can safely do it, off of each of the said ports, as also, that he does hold correspondence over land at each of those ports, that thereby he may not only inform the masters of the merchant ships by what time he is ordered to sail, but be informed by them when they shall be ready to accompany him, and that in case he finds they will be ready to come for England before the sixty days are expired, he governs himself accordingly.

But in case the aforesaid number of 4th, and 5th or 6th rates shall not be at Lisbon, but that others of different rates shall be left there for those services by order of Sir C. Shovell, you are then to appoint them in such manner as you judge the most proper the aforesaid services, as convoys from Portugal and the Canaries.

Given under my hand this 22nd Dec., 1706.

GEORGE.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas His Royal Highness has directed me to take under my command the ships abroad, and to dispose of them for the execution of such orders as I have or should receive from Her Majesty or H.R.H.; and whereas I am going from hence with the fleet and forces that came from England; I do hereby desire and direct you take under your command the ships in the annexed account, that are here and coming from England, and other parts, or any other ships that may come to you;

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and notwithstanding what I have before directed, you are now in pursuance of H.R.H.'s orders to prepare and get ready a convoy to consist of your 4th and two 5th or 6th rates to return with the trade that is now lading at this and the other ports of Portugal for England ; because the trade from Lisbon and those from the other ports of Portugal must have separate convoys : And you are to direct them to sail at such time as you shall judge will best consist with the conveniency and service of the merchants ; And you are likewise to prepare and get ready one fourth rate to be a convoy for the trade from the Canaries, according to the orders that will be given in that behalf, and the rest of the men of war that are under your command or any other that shall come, you are to put into condition for the sea as soon as possible, and if you think to send them out as they are ready to cruise or on any other service, you are to assign them such stations as you may get them together again upon any emergent or sudden occasion.

And in case the Earl of Galway, and the Earl of Rivers, Genl. of Her Majesty's forces in Spain, or either of them, or the Commander or Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's forces in or about that kingdom for the time being shall think it necessary to employ any part of the Army in making an attempt on the coast, or on any town in the aforesaid kingdom, in possession of the enemy, or on any other service, wherein the assistance of the fleet may be necessary, and shall under their hands desire such assistance of the fleet under your command, towards the favouring it, and performance of any such service, you are to co-operate in the execution or performance of such attempt or service, with the whole or part of

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the fleet, in case a Council of War of such English and Dutch Flag-Officers and Captains as may be with you, or such of them as you shall think fit to call, shall judge it practicable, the which you are upon all such occasions to assemble and advise with.

And whereas since my coming into these parts, I have by letter demanded in her Majesty's name from the Alcayde of Tangier, the restitution of two ships, and the persons and goods that were villainously taken in them by the Moors; And in answer to my said demand, the Alcayde has sent me a letter by his Secretary and some other friends, who he desires may have protection, which I have given them, to buy or sell what things they have occasion for in this country; they having first obliged themselves in writing under their hands to be detained with their goods till such time as the English are delivered; I herewith transmit you copies of the said letters and writing for your further information; as also of a letter which I am going to send to the Alcayde when I sail from hence, to try if he will deliver the English immediately; and I do desire and direct you as soon as the Moors are ready to return, that you do order them to be carried in some of Her Majesty's ships as you shall think fit to Tangier; but you are to give strict directions to the Commander of such ship or ships that they do by no means suffer the Moors or any of their goods to be landed till the English are sent aboard of them, except the masters, and one man of each of the two ships that were taken, which they desire may be left to give account and make demand of the ships and goods; and when the ship or ships you send shall have received the English, you are to order the said ship or ships to

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proceed to Gibraltar, and there take in 1000 of the gunlocks and 500 barrels of powder that is lodged there on the last redemption of captives, and carry them to Tangier and deliver them to the Alcayde taking his receipt for them; and afterwards the ships may proceed as you shall think fit to direct them. Dated aboard the Association in the Bay of Oeiras Dec. 31st, 1706.

C. SHOVELL.

List of ships appointed to be under the command of Sir George Byng.

Rate.	*At Lisbon.*	*Coming from England.*	*Coming out of the Straits.*
1	Royal Anne	3 Chichester	3 Resolution
2	St. George	Restoration	Revenge
3	Somerset	Elizabeth	Rupert
	Burford	Torbay	4 Antelope
	Ipswich	Swiftsure	Panther
	Stirling Castle	Warspight	New Castle
	Monmouth	Lancaster	Dunkirk
4	Leopard	4 Triton	5 Garland
6	Valeur	5 Charles Galley	6 Enterprise
	Phoenix, Griffin } fsps		
	Fubbs, Katherine } Yachts	*At Gibraltar.*	
	Antelope hosple.	5 Swallow's Prize	
		6 Swift Sloop	

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PART VI

Jan.-May 1707
MEDITERRANEAN OPERATIONS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE year 1707 found Byng still at Lisbon directing the movements of the ships passing to and from the Mediterranean and with the additional task of protecting the Anglo-Portuguese trade.

Shovell left the Tagus on 7th January and reached Alicante on the 28th, where he landed 7000 troops to assist Peterborough, and from whence he wrote several letters to Byng explaining his movements. Eventually he returned to Lisbon on 11th March, and there found Prince George's instructions of 10th February waiting him, together with the Prince's instructions of 13th January to Byng.

After settling some administrative matters (Orders of 12th March to Byng), he called a council of war on 13th March (O.S.) to discuss the best means of executing the Prince's orders. It was agreed that as the joint fleet was not in a condition to return to the Mediterranean immediately, Byng should start at once with such English ships as were ready, together with the Dutch squadron under Van der Goes, and carry recruits and supplies to Peterborough at Valencia. Shovell meanwhile would follow with the remaining ships, when ready.

On the same day the English flag-officers and Captain Loades met privately to discuss Marlborough's grand project for the joint invasion of France, with Toulon as the main objective. They decided to give the scheme every possible assistance, and that Byng should be ready to co-operate with the advance force, supposing that events developed more quickly than was anticipated and that the attack on Toulon commenced before Shovell arrived. Shovell's instructions to Byng of 13th and 28th March

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make this quite clear, although the actual attack on Toulon is only mentioned in the most guarded terms.

Byng sailed from the Tagus on 30th March in the Royal Anne, and I am much indebted to Lieut.-Commander J. H. Owen for information about the composition of this advance force, which he discovered in the Norris Papers in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 28134). It consisted of twelve English and ten Dutch ships of the line, together with six frigates and sloops and two hospital ships. The Dutch were commanded by Van der Goes, and Norris acted as rear-admiral, flying his flag in the Torbay.

On passing the Straits, Byng's first action was to call at Alicante and to get into communication with the allied Governor, General Richards, who informed him that Galway wished the recruits and provisions to be landed at Valencia and Denia (council of war's decision, 10th April O.S.). But immediately afterwards Byng received Galway's letter of $\frac{10 \text{ O.S.}}{21 \text{ N.S.}}$ April from Villena, asking that the recruits might be put ashore at Alicante to save the waste of time which would be incurred by carrying them farther up the coast.

Galway, who had recently been appointed commander-in-chief of the allied land forces in Spain, was advancing from Villena with the idea of defeating the Duke of Berwick before he could join forces with the Duke of Orleans. For this reason he wished the recruits brought by the fleet to march straight to him from Alicante. Byng did as he was requested and then decided, through his council of war of $\frac{16 \text{ O.S.}}{27 \text{ N.S.}}$ April, to carry the baggage and provisions of the army up to Valencia.

But in the meantime, Galway, advancing from Villena, had been completely defeated by Berwick at Almanza on $\frac{14 \text{ O.S.}}{25 \text{ N.S.}}$ April, chiefly owing to the cowardice and incompetence of his Portuguese cavalry. Galway himself, although he was wounded in the head and lost the sight of his right eye, behaved with exceptional coolness and sagacity. Withdrawing the wreck of his army as quickly

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as possible to Alcira, he informed Byng of his intention to retire up the coast to Tortosa, where he could obtain reinforcements from the allied troops in Catalonia.

Galway's retreat, of course, left Alicante, Valencia, and Denia open to attack, and Byng's council of war on hearing of his defeat decided to remain at Alicante and to co-operate with General Richards in its defence (Richards to Byng $\frac{17 \text{ O.S.}}{28 \text{ N.S.}}$ April and council of war the same day). Next day Byng received Galway's letter of 28th April (N.S.), and his council of war therefore decided to leave General Richards some provisions and to sail with the whole squadron to Tortosa, carrying with them the recruits, which they re-embarked, together with the money, provisions and clothing for Galway's army. Not only did Byng do this, but he also greatly assisted the allied army by taking off stragglers and wounded and by helping in the arrangements for the defence of Valencia and Denia.

Eventually Galway made good his retreat to Tortosa, and Byng sailed on to Barcelona in conformity with Galway's suggestion in his letter of 28th April (N.S.), where he held a council of war which decided on sailing for the Riviera coast as a preliminary to the Toulon operation. The next day, 20th May (O.S.), Shovell arrived to take over the command.

Byng's movements during this period are worth considering in some detail in consequence of their previous misrepresentation. Sir William Laird Clowes asserts that Byng heard of Galway's defeat at Almanza when off Cape St. Vincent, just after he had left Lisbon (*The Royal Navy*, vol. ii. p. 410), whereas he actually arrived at Alicante at least four days before the battle was fought. In the article on Galway in the *Dictionary of National Biography* considerable space is devoted to the battle, but its date is omitted. It would not be surprising, therefore, in view of these defects in standard works, if the details of the business remain somewhat obscure.

Galway seems to have been a man of great character and ability, his letters to Byng written under the most depressing conditions are cheerful and courteous, and he

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never mentions his own wound. Unlike some land commanders, he is full of thanks for naval assistance and expresses it with neatness and sincerity. The incident between Sir John Leake and the Portuguese, referred to by Byng in the account of his own troubles with them, took place in the spring of 1706 (see *The Life of Sir John Leake* by Professor Geoffrey Callender (Navy Records Society), vol. i., chapter xi).

Other soldiers' names appear in the correspondence, notably James, afterwards first Earl Stanhope, who will be more fully discussed in a later volume and also Major-General John Richards, the gallant defender of Alicante.

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FROM LORD PETERBOROUGH

Valencia,
January 5th, 1706/7. O.S.

Sir,—I write to you from Italy,[1] the reasons to have a Squadron by times in these seas are become more pressing than they were at that time. I send you here enclosed a duplicate of a letter I have sent by another way to Sir Clowdisley Shovell, which I hope is come to his hands before this time. I can only represent at this distance the necessity we are in, I suppose you have the positive orders and directions from him.

It is of the highest consequence that a Squadron passes immediately to Italy; by all the advices I have from Toulon I do not perceive any preparations they are making or can make to put any force at sea that can give us any uneasiness. The King of Spain approves of the proposals made by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene which have been sent to the Queen and are the only measures we can take to recover the opportunity lost in Spain, but all depends upon the early appearance of a Squadron upon the coast of Italy, since no preparations will be made for the services offered by those Princes till they have a certainty of some assistance by sea. I have taken the best care I could to have some disposition made at Porto Spezzia where the Squadron may pass the ill weather, till the Service shall require their immediate concurrence.

[1] Peterborough had just been to Genoa, to raise, entirely on his own initiative, a loan of £100,000, to finance the allied war in Spain.

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In case the want of provisions may detain you, I believe the ships that are last come from Holland may be persuaded to spare us some portion till the Victuallers arrive from England, which must be sent to support this Summer's expedition. For the rest I refer you to the orders you shall receive from Sir Clowdisley and repeat my instances for your coming into these seas with the utmost expedition.

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

PETERBOROUGH.

FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas it is absolutely necessary for Her Majesty's Service that such ships as shall be left at Lisbon with you by Sir Clow. Shovell, Admiral of the Fleet, should be put into a condition for the Sea with the greatest despatch and proceed into the Mediterranean and join the Fleet as soon as possibly may be, you are therefore hereby required and directed, to cause the utmost diligence to be used in the despatch of the said ships, and as fast as they shall be ready, you are to send them to the Fleet in the Mediterranean either singly or by such numbers together as you shall judge proper, with regard to the intelligence which you may receive of the Enemy, and you are to proceed yourself to the Fleet with some of the said Ships at such time as you shall think most convenient for Her Majesty's Service, leaving orders with the Captains of such ships as may remain at Lisbon, to make all possible despatch in following you, in case you proceed up the

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Straits before they shall be all in readiness for the sea; and as you are to direct the Commissioner of the Navy at Lisbon to give his utmost assistance in the refitting the aforesaid ships, so are you, if Sir Clow. Shovell shall not be sailed before these my Orders come to your hands, to communicate them to him.

Given under my hand this 13 January, 1706/7.

GEORGE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL STANHOPE

Valencia,
Jan. the 16th, 1707. N.S.

Sir,—I have received the favour of yours of the 11th of December by the Swallow's Prize, Denia is thought the most proper place for these frigates to come to, and orders will be sent to a person there to take care of the mails, as likewise general orders to all governors of any ports where they may be obliged to put in.

My Lord Peterborough will probably have given you the best information we can have of the Naval force of the Enemy in these Seas, what I have heard from his Lordship is that nine men of war had been at Sea and some privateers and I have not heard there was any preparation making for fitting out any more.

Upon the advices we have from all hands that the French are sending great forces against us from Dauphiné I am commanded by the King[1] and my Lord Galway to represent to you that a Squadron in these seas will be very necessary to

[1] The Archduke Charles; Stanhope was at this time acting as English Ambassador to him.

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protect our sea coast especially Catalonia which will be very much exposed if what is said of the enemy's success be true. If we are masters at sea we know by experience they will be able to make very little impression in that country, if we are not we shall be obliged to leave so great a force there as will disable us from attempting anything considerable. Sir Clowdisley we hear will not be able to stay here which obliges us to write the more pressingly to you, though I know you want no spurring for whatever is for the Service if it be possible. I believe the Enemy will abandon Carthagena so soon as the Fleet comes, which may be a convenience for you.

You will be surprised when I tell you there is a strong party amongst us here for making only a defensive war this next campaign even if we are to be happy as to have a Squadron in these Seas but I hope and believe that we shall once more try to get to Madrid. Towards our succeeding I know nothing can contribute more than you being early on this coast.

I am with great esteem,

Your most faithful & humble Servant,

JAMES STANHOPE.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association in Alicante Road,
January 31st, 1706/7.

Sir,—We got here the 27th instant but found no ships, Lord Peterborough having ordered them to Alfaques to take in some Troops bearing them to Majorca, not hearing of any French abroad I have sent the Orford and Winchester back to

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you that you may have time to clean them & employ them ; I think to leave six or seven ships here and complete them to three months. The Tartar arrived the 29th and brought me your letter. He met with a little ruffling weather but not sufficient to oblige the Transports to return unless disabled. I approve very well your proceeding in cleaning the ships and your disposition of them, as soon as the Troops are landed I shall make haste to you.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM LORD SUNDERLAND

Whitehall,
February 4th, 1706/7.

Sir,—I have the favour of yours of 17th of January, O.S., and am very glad to hear the Fleet with Sir Clowdisley Shovell was sailed. I hope the winds have been favourable for the passing the Straits. I send you here enclosed by Her Majesty's order, the extract of a letter, sent to me, by one who wishes the Public better than his own private interest, I believe the intelligence is to be depended upon, but must be kept private, for the sake of the person I had it from. Her Majesty would have you endeavour if you think it practicable to have such a number of ships out at the time mentioned, as may either intercept the ships mentioned or at least prevent their design.

I am with great trouble

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association in Alicante Road,
February 6th, 1706/7.

Sir,—I have sent Captain Hickes with most of the Transports that had horse and foot in, some stay here, and the Ordnance Storeships have got nothing out, but I hope these will come time enough to go with the first Convoy home; I have met with none of the Italy Ships, but have their Stations from Lord Peterborough and have sent for them, though I don't know when I may meet with them and he sent away the Rupert and Dunkirk before I came, so that if there be absolute occasion and you cannot make up the Convoy without it, you may send Trevanian home or some of the 70 Gun'd Ships; I hope to be coming to you from here in a week's time, but if the wind should keep us long in the Straits you must send us some Victuals to Gibraltar for it begins to be very short with us.

I am,

Your very humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas the Queen was pleased last night in Cabinet Council to declare of how much advantage it may be to Her Majesty's Service, as well as to the affairs of King Charles the Third of Spain, if you can continue on the Coast of Valencia with the Fleet under your command and such other ships as shall be sent to you from hence, and from Lisbon by Sir G. Byng. I do therefore (in pur-

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suance of Her Majesty's pleasure) hereby direct and require you to consider at a Council of War whether the Fleet under your Command can with safety remain on the Coast of Valencia, or if not there, whether you may continue with the same at any Port or Place near unto the said Coast with respect not only to the safety of the Fleet but to the intelligence which you have or may receive of the proceedings of the Enemy in fitting out their fleet at Toulon and according to what shall be agreed on at a Council of War, you are to govern yourself and to order Sir George Byng to send to you the ships which are at, or shall come to Lisbon to join you as soon as may be at such rendezvous as shall be agreed on ; and you are from time to time to employ the Fleet under your Command in such manner as by a Council of War shall be thought most advantageous for the Public Service, with respect not only to such Orders or Instructions as may be sent to you from Her Majesty by the hands of a Principal Secretary of State or myself, as to such applications as shall be made unto you by His Majesty the King of Spain or the Earl of Rivers, or the General of Her Majesty's Forces in that Kingdom for the time being. Given under my hand this 10th day of February, 1706/7.

GEORGE.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association in Alicante Road,
February 11th, 1706/7. O.S.

Sir,—I have met with but one of my Lord Peterborough's ships which is Cavendish['s][1] and I

[1] Antelope.

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send him to you and would have you let him be one of the first Convoy for England, but if Hickes is not got to Lisbon I would have the Convoy stay till he comes for he has about 50 or 60 Transports with him that I have had sent down on purpose to go home with the first Convoy, to ease that charge as much as we can ; we are about 20 more with provisions, stores and baggage, which we are clearing as fast as possible, and have now almost made an end of and I hope to be with you in a short time, but if the wind should continue westerly or that you apprehend I cannot get out of the Straits within a month from this date I would have you send a ship with provisions to Gibraltar.

Nothing has happened in these parts but the taking of Jijona, a Town about four leagues from hence which the enemy abandoned upon the approach of our Troops after having killed and wounded 9 or 10 of our men, it was a nest of rogues that mightily infested the Country and disturbed our people in their quarters, and our Troops are gone all into quarters about this place.

Cavendish tells me it will not be long before I shall see Elwes[1] or hear that he is starving or starved for my Lord sends him up and down and never took care to provide or supply him with provisions which is very near quite at an end by this time.

Pray let the enclosed go in your next packet.

Your very humble Servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

[1] Commanding the Revenge.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association in Gibraltar Bay,
February 29th, 1706/7. O.S.

Sir,—I am got thus far on my way to you and arrived here the 24th instant but most of the Ships which were with me not being able to get in here that night have since met with very blowing weather and westerly winds and are driven into the Straits again.

I had both your letters and the packets you sent with them, the first by the Burford which met me on my passage down near Carthagena. I joined the Aldborough with him and your last letter I had here from the Valeur.

I fear the Transports that I sent with Hickes are very much dispersed, I wish none of them be taken, I found one here and there is another come in who tells me he saw no more than 19 sail with Hickes, a small number out of about 77 that sailed with him.

The disposition you have made as well for Convoys as for cruising is extremely right; I should be very glad if the Merchants would be contented that the Convoys stay till Crow arrives with the rest of the Transports which are about 20, I expect he is now on his way.

The Revenge, Rupert, Dunkirk, Panther, Antelope and Sorlingues being come to me there will be ships enough for convoys, but whatever ships you send home I would have you reduce to their middle complements of men, and let those you take be either Able Seamen last entered or pressed, or Marines, and if the ships be healthy, you may reduce them to eight or ten under these middle complements, and in regard you tell me that the Storeship which was coming out is

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missing, I would have you take out of the Ships that go home, all the stores you possibly can as well Ordnance as Naval, leaving them what you think necessary for their passage.

There are two French ships of about 30 & 40 Guns off the Carthagena which have been seen by most of our Ships, but I hope have done us no harm ; if you can get two Ships cleaned and ready for the sea, before I come, I would have you send them to cruise thereabout. I hope our provisions will bring us to you.

I don't know whether we shall have more ships out of England time enough for the services that may require our coming into the Straits and therefore think to keep the Rupert and not send her home. She being in pretty good condition.

The Alciad presses very hard for the rest of the locks and powder and he acquaints me that the rest of the English are ready to embark, so I have ordered him all the locks and powder and sent Jackson[1] with them and to bring away the Captives.

I am,
Your very humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Pursuant to orders from his Royal Highness you are hereby required strictly and directed to send from time to time to the Principal Officers of Her Majesty's ordnance an account of all your Gunners stores aboard, in order to enable them to send in time sufficient supplies of what you are in want of to the Ports or Places where you shall

[1] Captain of the Sorlingues.

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be, and this you are to take particular care to do immediately to the end that they may send out such things as shall be proper by the next opportunity, as you will answer at your peril for any detriment that may accrue to her Majesty's Service for your failure herein.

And pursuant to further orders from his Royal Highness for easing Her Majesty of the charge of maintaining French and Spanish Prisoners in these parts, you are hereby required and directed as any French or Spanish Prisoners shall for the future happen to be taken by any of Her Majesty's ships under your command, or any that shall happen to be put aboard you, to put them ashore at the nearest Port or Place, where there shall be any Consul or Agent for the French Nation, taking his receipt for the said prisoners, expressing their names and qualities, what ship or vessel they were taken in, whether Man of War, Privateer or Merchant ship, where she belongs to and whence she came; And you may likewise deliver such Prisoners at any Spanish town in the hands of the Duke of Anjou, provided the Governor or Chief Magistrate of such a town will give you a receipt for them as above-mentioned, and you are to transmit those receipts to the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded in order to their accounting for them with the French Commissioners.

And whereas there has been frequent complaint made by Her Majesty's Commissioners for Prizes of the neglect of transmitting to them Lists of the distribution of the produce of prizes that have been sold abroad, you are hereby strictly charged and required to transmit as soon as possible to the said Commissioners attested copies of the Lists and Vouchers of the Distribution of any such prize money as has been put into your hands, in

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order to enable the said Commissioners to make up and pass their Accounts and to answer such people as shall come to demand it at their office and this you are to take particular care to do as often as any prize money shall be put into your hands to be distributed as you will answer the contrary.

And whereas there are herewith delivered to you two printed Orders from His Royal Highness bearing date the 7th and 29th November last, relating to the making out of tickets for men discharged, and the settling of rolls for paying the Marines their pay which becomes due to them while at sea and you are to see the said orders carefully complied with. Dated on board the Association in Lisbon River March 12th, 1706/7. [O.S.]

CLOW. SHOVELL.

The Orders of the 29th November falling short there are none delivered with this.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of Flag and other Officers, held on board the Association in Lisbon river March 13, O.S., 1707.

PRESENT :—

Sir Clowdisley Shovell, Admiral
Sir George Byng, Vice-Admiral
Sir Thomas Dilkes, Rear-admiral
Sir John Norris, Rear-Admiral
Vice-Admiral Van der Goes.
Capt. van Convent.

Upon considering the circumstances of the fleet, English and Dutch, now in the river of Lisbon, and those which are coming and expected to join us, and finding upon the whole that all the

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fleet cannot be put in a condition to go immediately into the Mediterranean: and whereas there is at present, clothes, money, provisions and recruits ready to proceed to the confederate army with the King of Spain in Valencia, it is therefore our unanimous opinion, that a squadron of English under Sir George Byng, vice-admiral of the Blue, accompanied with the ships of the States General, under Vice-Admiral Van der Goes do sail as soon as they possibly can be got ready with the clothing, money, provisions, recruits and transports to the army in Valencia, and after landing the same, the said squadrons are to continue in the Mediterranean, and perform all such services for the general interest of the confederacy as shall be determined in a Council of War by them until they are joined by the rest of the Fleet, under Vice-Admiral Sir Clowdisley Shovell.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of English Flag Officers held on board Her Majesty's Ship the Association in Lisbon River 13th March, O.S., 1707.

PRESENT

Sir Clowdisley Shovell, K[t]., Admiral.
Sir George Byng, Kt., Vice Admiral.
Sir Thomas Dilkes, Kt., Rear Admiral.
Sir John Norris, Kt., –do–
Captain Edmund Loades[1]

It being resolved that Sir George Byng should proceed with a Squadron of English and Dutch into the Mediterranean, and we having considered

[1] First Captain or Captain of the Fleet, to Shovell.

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the project concerted between Her Majesty and the States General with his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy ; we conceive nothing can contribute more to the effectual execution of it and proper measures to put it speedily in practice ; it is therefore our unanimous opinion, after Sir George Byng is sailed, that the Admiral as soon as ten or twelve ships more of the line of battle can be got ready, sails with them to join our Force in the Mediterranean for the immediate operation of the project ; and that he leave behind him here the rest of the ships that shall not be ready, giving them direction to follow him.

It is our opinion that the transports already in the Mediterranean, and those that are to go with Sir George Byng, will together with the hospitals and tenders of the fleet be sufficient to transport the provisions and ammunition from Oneillia etc. for the service of the Army, as by the said project is agreed on Her Majesty's part ; and therefore we judge it proper that all other transports etc. not under immediate directions of further service, be sent for England by the first convoy, in order to reduce and ease the charge to Her Majesty.

It being further agreed by the said project that Her Majesty shall furnish the guns necessary for the execution of it, and some quantity of powder ; and considering that but one of the ships of the fleet has brass guns, and that such guns are most proper for that service ; it is therefore our opinion that the Admiral writes to Her Majesty's envoy at the court of Spain to desire his catholic Majesty, that His Majesty will be pleased to lend us ten or more brass guns with their carriages out of the number taken from the French when they quitted the siege of Barcelona, and that all land carriages

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belonging either to the train in Portugal or such as may be in shore at Lisbon or Gibraltar, or in any store ships bound home, be also taken on board the fleet, as also all the powder in store at Lisbon for the service of the Fleet, and in regard the Admiral informs us that the same is but a small quantity, and that they are likewise in want of powder at Gibraltar for the service of that garrison: it is our opinion that the Admiral endeavour to borrow one thousand barrels of powder from the King of Portugal, for the service of the project and supplying the garrison of Gibraltar, and that the said powder be put on board an ordnance store ship to sail with the fleet.

And whereas it is concerted by the said project that a number of ships should be on the Coast of Italy to intercept the enemies embarkations, and keep their ships within their ports till the time of the fleets coming for putting the project in execution; and there being already four of Her Majesty's ships of war in Italy, and three or four more designed there; it is our opinion that those ships remain on the coast of Italy for the said services, and whereas Sir George Byng with a squadron of English, accompanied with the ships of the States General and the Vice Admiral Van der Goes is to proceed immediately into the Mediterranean. It is further our opinion that Sir George Byng have orders from the Admiral, that if his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy shall give them notice that it is necessary the whole squadron English and Dutch should appear on the coast of Italy, before the Admiral comes with the rest of the fleet that in such case Sir George Byng shall proceed thither with the whole or part of the ships under his command as shall be judged advisable by a Council of War.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Pursuant to the resolutions of a Council of War of this day, when it is resolved that a Squadron of English and Dutch do proceed as soon as they can be possibly got ready into the Mediterranean with the money, clothing, recruits, and provisions that are here for the Confederate Army in Valencia; I do hereby desire and direct you to take under your command Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue, together with the ships in the margin,[1] and to give such direction and orders as you shall see necessary for getting them as soon as possible ready in all respects for the Sea, and their provisions completed to six months at whole allowance, and as soon as they are ready, you are, together with the ships of the States General under Vice Admiral Van der Goes, to proceed into the Mediterranean, taking under your convoy all transports, storeships, etc., and make the best of your way with them to Alicante or to such other place as shall be judged proper for landing the said provisions, recruits, money, etc. and you are likewise to give convoy to any Merchant ships that shall sail with you bound your way: and whereas it is further resolved by the said Council of War that the English and Dutch squadrons that proceed with you into the Mediterranean do continue there for performing such services as shall be determined by you in a Council of War until I come with the rest of the Fleet, I do hereby

[1] Royal Anne, Torbay, St. George, Somerset, Restoration, Elizabeth, Monmouth, Swiftsure, Warspite, Tilbury, Weasle Sloop, Phoenix Fireship, Jeffreys Hospital

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empower you and direct you to remain with the said ships English and Dutch in the Mediterranean, and to perform such services as shall be by you agreed at a Council of War as aforesaid.

And as soon as all or any considerable number of the transports, storeships etc. which proceed with you, or any others that may be at Alicante or thereabouts shall be empty you are desired for easing that charge to Her Majesty to send them with a convoy hither if you can conveniently, or to Gibraltar, in order to their being sent home ; and whereas I have ordered the Commissioner of the Victualling to send one of his Clerks or some instrument for providing wine and oil for the ships that are with you, I desire and direct you as often as any of them have occasion for wine or oil to give orders to their respective Commanders to send their own casks ashore for putting it into.

And whereas by the direction of the Lord High Treasurer of England there is a great quantity of tin in the custody of the Commissioner of the Navy here, or on board some of the Men of War that came out of England with Sir Thos. Dilkes, to be carried to Italy, you are to cause it to be taken on board such ships as you shall think fit that are going with you, and all of it or so much as you shall judge proper to be put aboard the three ships in the margin,[1] and when you think fit send them away with it to Italy, two of them to Leghorn and one to Genoa, and you are to direct the Commanders of the said three ships to cause their Boatswains receipts for the number of cask with the marks of the quantity of tin that shall be put on board them, and the said Commanders

[1] Tilbury
Centurion
Milford

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to cause it to be delivered according to the consignments herewith given you, and receipts to be taken as above directed; and you are likewise to order them to get their ships cleaned and tallowed at Leghorn or Genoa and to complete their provisions there to four months at whole allowance, and while they are cleaning to correspond with Her Majesty's Minister at the court of Savoy, and acquaint him when they judge they shall be ready to sail, and that they are coming to me and directed to receive such letters and despatches as shall be sent from His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy or himself; and you are to direct the said Commanders to endeavour to get what intelligence they can of the enemies Naval preparations at Toulon; and when they are cleaned to make the best of their way to Alicante unless they shall hear of my being in any other parts of the Straits, and in that case to make the best of their way to me.

And whereas there is a Dutch ship here called the King William, Cornelius Du Pont Master, loaden with ammunition and other ordnance stores for the Duke of Savoy, you are to take particular care that she sails with you from hence, and when you send away the three before-mentioned ships to Italy, they are to take the said Dutch ship with them and convoy her to Genoa, pursuant to orders from his Royal Highness.

Dated aboard the Association in Lisbon River March 13th, 1706/7. [O.S.]

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas you are going into the Mediterranean with a Squadron of English and Dutch; and several ships of the Fleet being there already, and

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it is probable others may be sent; I do hereby desire and direct you to take such of them under your command as you shall meet or may come within the reach of your orders, and to employ them on such services as you shall see necessary.

And whereas there is a project on foot between Her Majesty and the States General with his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy for the operations of the next Summer's campaign with the Confederate Fleet and Army in Italy; and I am commanded by Her Majesty to send immediately some proper person to His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy to confer with him on the measures requisite to be taken for the execution of the said project; I have appointed Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue, to proceed on that service with proper instructions to him accordingly [1]; I do hereby desire and direct you to give orders to the respective Commanders of the four ships in the margin [2] at such time as shall be judged proper, that they put themselves under the command of Sir John Norris and proceed with him as he shall think fit, or after him as circumstances will allow; and such ships as you shall hereafter send you are to put under his direction.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy having intimated to her Majesty, that for facilitating the execution of their intended designs, it will be necessary a squadron of ships should be sent toward the coast of Italy to observe and hinder the enemy's motions and transportations, and to assist on other services; I do hereby further empower and direct you, that in case the Duke of Savoy or Sir John Norris does at any time send

[1] Norris was to act as liaison officer at Turin while plans were being prepared for the operations against Toulon.

[2] Winchester, Centurion, Tilbury, Milford

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you advice, that there is a want of more ships for the services before expressed in those parts, you do immediately send them as it shall be judged fit by Council of War; or if they acquaint you that it is proper and necessary you should be there, you do immediately with all the ships under your command both English and Dutch proceed to the coast of Italy as a Council of War according to circumstances shall think it advisable, and if you proceed thither you are to send a ship immediately to me with account of it, as also to leave letters with the like account at Denia and Alicante for me; and upon your arrival on the coast of Italy, you are, pursuant to her Majesty's commands signified to me, to observe such directions as you shall receive from his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy for putting in execution such proposals to you as shall be by a Council of War thought practicable by the ships under your command.

And whereas there will be occasion for transports on this design, you are, notwithstanding any further orders, to make choice of ten or twelve of the best fitted of those that go with you or such as you find at Alicante and on that coast, and when they are clear of what they have in, to which you are to give directions and assist in giving all possible despatch, you are to order their Masters to get them in a condition for the sea in all respects, and if you proceed to Italy take them along with you if they are ready, or otherways to direct them to remain at Alicante or Denia which you shall think most proper till I come; and if there be any other transports, you are to have a convenient opportunity to send them to this place or Gibraltar, or direct them to remain somewhere on the coast of Valencia, as you shall think fit.

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And whereas there was brought out of England with Sir Thos. Dilkes on the ships in the margin [1] a considerable quantity of tin in cask each cask containing four hundred weight shipped by directions of the Lord High Treasurer for Her Majesty's account in order to be carried for Italy, which tin you were directed to cause to be taken on board the ships of the Squadron going with you, and to send to Italy in the ships you are to send thither all or so much of it as you should think proper, you are to order about forty tons of it to Genoa to be delivered to Messrs. Boissiers and Partners, and the rest to Leghorn to be delivered to Messrs. Arundel and Bates, and receipts to be taken as you have been before directed.

And whereas Her Majesty has commanded that what guns the Duke of Savoy should think proper for executing the design and project should be furnished from the Fleet, I have written to Mr. Stanhope to borrow if possible twenty brass 24 pdr. guns with the carriages from his Catholic Majesty, you are to inform yourself whither the said guns can be had and where, and give such proper directions as you shall think fit for taking them on board the ships of your squadron, or the transports of the fleet.

And whereas the ships of the fleet being very much in want of men, his Royal Highness the Prince has given me orders to take aboard again the Marines that were landed at Alicante with the troops under Lord Rivers [2]; you are likewise to

[1] Chichester Restoration
Elizabeth Torbay

[2] Richard Savage, fourth Earl Rivers (1660–1712) Lieut.-General 1702, General 1712; held temporary command of the allied troops in Valencia, but was superseded by Galway, with whom he was unfriendly, and in consequence returned home before the battle of Almanza.

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inform yourself and desire from His Excellency my Lord Galway that the said Marines be ordered to embark, and you are to receive them on board the ships of your Squadron as you judge most proper.

And whereas there may be a want of land carriages for guns on the service we are designed with the troops to co-operate in, and there were some brought from England for the service of the Army that came from thence under the Earl Rivers, and were brought back from Alicante to Gibraltar; you are on your way into the Straits to send in thither to the Governor and inform yourself what number there is of them in good condition that can be spared and of what nature, and desire the Governor that they may be ready when I send for them, and let Sir John Norris know what answer the Governor sends.

Dated aboard the Association Lisbon River March 28th, 1707. [O.S.]

CLOW. SHOVELL.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of Flag Officers held on board the Royal Anne in Alicante Road, 10th April, 1707. [O.S.]

PRESENT

Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral of the Blue.
Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue.
Vice Admiral Van der Goes.
Captain Van Convent.

Being come to this place with the Squadron of English and Dutch with the recruits, money

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and provisions for the army of the Confederates in Spain, and receiving a letter from Major General Richards,[1] Governor of Alicante, signifying my Lord Galway's desire, that the recruits and provisions for the Army may be landed at Denia and Valencia, it is agreed and resolved, that the fleet sails so soon as possible for Denia, there to land the troops, provisions and other necessities for the Army, and after that to come to a further resolution how to dispose the fleet.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Camp of Villena,
10/21 April, 1707.

Sir,—I heartily rejoice to hear you are safe arrived with such succours which are come in very good time. I wrote to M. G. Richards to desire that all that should come for the service of the Army should be sent to land at Valencia, but since the recruits are now at Alicante and that our Army is engaged here and the D. of Berwick marching to us, it is best that the recruits should immediately land and march directly to this camp for which the Portuguese have orders from the Marquis Dalmenas and the Dutch from Lieutenant-

[1] Major-General John Richards (1669–1709), served with distinction in the Venetian and Polish Armies owing to his inability as a Catholic to hold a commission in the English army. He commanded the Portuguese artillery in the allied army in Spain, 1705, and was present at the capture of Barcelona in October. In February, 1908, he was appointed Governor of Alicante. In December he was besieged and had to abandon the town although he continued to hold the Castle till March, 1709, when he was killed by a mine exploded by the enemy after repeated summons to surrender and well knowing the presence of the mine, over which he stood, in order to encourage his men. Lieut.-Colonel D'Albon managed to hold out till April, when he was relieved by Byng.

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General Frisheim, I beg the favour you will send everything else to land at Valencia, or at Denia, if the weather should prove bad; but it will be much better for the service at Valencia, both for saving time and charges. You've always been so ready to assist me to carry on the service that I trust [?] you and myself to recommend the despatch of what I now request.

I am with a perfect esteem, Sir,
Your most faithful and most humble Servant,
GALWAY.

I left the Marines at Alicante that they might be at hand to receive the Prince's orders, but I beg they may continue there till I can send a regiment to relieve them, which I cannot do just at this juncture, the enemy marching to us. I will in two or three days when this business is over give you my opinion of the service the fleet might do now. I would only desire that for the present some small frigate should go to cruise at Peniscola[?] to secure the coast, may be the appearing of the fleet before Cartagena might have some effect, but it is very uncertain without having some forces to land there.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Camp of Villena,
23rd April 1707, at night. N.S.

Sir,—I received the favour of your letter of the 12th O.S. I am extremely obliged to you for returning to Alicante with the recruits, which otherwise must have come a great way about to us. I should with all willingness imaginable order all the Marines at Alicante abroad, were it possible

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to re-inforce that garrison, but we march in the morning to the enemy, who have assembled all their force, so I must beg you will consider the security of Alicante, the preservation of which place is of so great consequence to the fleet; so that if you can possibly spare the Marines, 'till this business is over, I assure you I will immediately send a regiment thither, reimplace the Marines, who shall be at your disposition, but I shall leave it to your discretion, that if the Fleet is in an absolute want of men, you may take what you cannot possibly be without.

I am very glad that after the stores are unloaded at Valencia, you intend to sail to the coast of Barcelona, where you may consult with the King, what will be most for the service. I must desire you to order the clothing for the Fusiliers, and if there are any [*word illegible*] Marines at Gerona to be landed at Barcelona, from whence they will be at hand to get them to their garrison.

I am very much obliged to you for your good wishes, and return you the same in all your expeditions, and am,

&c.

GALWAY.

FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL STANHOPE

Barcelona, April 26th, N.S., 1707.

Sir,—I was yesterday favoured with yours of the 10th instant O.S. and this morning very early with others of an older date; which I am told Captain Price brought but I have not yet seen him. I return you my sincere acknowledgments for the frequent kindness of your letters, and bid you a hearty welcome to these parts. The

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recruits, corn, money etc. are come in a very good time to be easily conveyed, and to be very serviceable to the Army. Mr. Mead will be best able to inform you about the disposal of the money; and after your expedition to Majorca it is very probable I shall have the happiness of kissing yours and Sir John Norris hands here, for at present this court is very still and I don't hear of any talk of any motion from hence.

I am with great respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

JAMES STANHOPE.

Be pleased to receive yourself and to present to my Lord Dursley and Sir John Norris the humble service of Mr. Secretary Walpole.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of Flag Officers held on board Her Majesty's Ship Royal Anne in Alicante Road, 16th April, 1707. O.S.

PRESENT

Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral of the Blue.
Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue.
Vice Admiral Van der Goes.
Captain Van Convent.

The recruits of Holland and of Portugal for the army in Spain being landed at Alicante according to my Lord Galway's request, and his Lordship desiring the baggage, provisions, money etc. for the use of the Army, may be landed at Valencia; it is resolved, that the fleet sail with the

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first opportunity for the Bay of Valencia, there to put ashore the money, provisions and baggage for the Army.

When we sail from hence, the rendezvous with a westerly wind to be in the Bay of Valencia, but with a easterly wind [*word illegible*].

G. BYNG. P. VAN DER GOES.
JNO. NORRIS. JOH. VAN CONVENT.

MONSIEUR DOLON TO MAJOR GENERAL RICHARDS

[COPY ENCLOSED BY RICHARDS TO BYNG]

Ontiniente,
the 26th April, 1707. N.S.

Sir,—I am very sorry to be obliged to give you the dismal account of our entire defeat, as likewise the news of my Lord's being wounded, though I hope that will not be of dangerous consequence.

As to the Marines which the Admiral talks of taking on board, there must in the stead of them be taken to be put into the Castle what you should think necessary in case of a siege out of the Dutch recruits that were designed for B. of Frisheim's Regiment, Visons [?] and Villiers [?], and the rest must be sent to Tortosa to be divided in C: Noyelles[1] and the Marines. You must also take care of a sufficient quantity of provisions be put into the Castle in case of a siege, as to the overplus as well as those that came with the fleet, as also the money, clothing, etc. must be sent to Tortosa and Barcelona. If it is possible for the ships there

[1] [*Sic*]. The Count de Noyelles, a Spaniard by birth, who held a commission in the Dutch Army and had been appointed by the Archduke Charles to take command of his own personal detachment of the allied army in Spain.

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will be appointed to transport the above-mentioned things to take also on board the sick at Gandia it will be a great service. I am,

Your most humble Servant,
L. DOLON.

FROM MAJOR GENERAL RICHARDS

Alicante, 28th April 1707 N.S.

Sir,—I having received a letter from Monsieur Dolon Aide-de-Camp to my Lord Galway of which the adjoined is a true copy, I summoned the principal Officers of the Garrison and having proposed to them the two following points namely :—

Whether the town should be defended in case the enemy would besiege us.

And in case the town as well as the castle was to be defended, what garrison they judged necessary in order thereunto.

To the first point was unanimously resolved that the town was to be defended.

And as to the second some opined that 1,600, but the most part that 2,000 men were necessary.

There is now actually in garrison (the 160 Marines embarked this day excluded) 655 men in rank and file and with their Officers 861. So that were we likely to be besieged, I should take the complement of the 2,000 men out of the recruits lately landed and the rest pursuant to my Lord Galway's order. I should desire you to take on board and to transport them to Tortosa.

1. But inasmuch as we have not provisions

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sufficient for these additional men I desire to know whether you cannot leave us two months provisions for 1,200 men.

2. We have some 12 pound guns in the castle the shot of which was by order of my Lord Galway sent some days ago to the siege of Villena, I desire to know whether the fleet cannot spare us 2,000 12 pound shot.
3. Of all the guns in the town there is not 5 or 6 that their carriages were not cut in pieces by order of Brigadier Gorges, neither does any considerable quantity of their shot appear, wherefore you will be pleased to let me know whether the fleet can spare any number of shot over and above the 2,000 12 pounders.
4. That in case we should be besieged it will be judged necessary to keep the five artillery ships here for the preservation of which and the other services of the town, whether you would not leave the necessary men of war and some transports in order to take of that part of the garrison which the castle cannot contain, though the rest of the fleet should be obliged to go elsewhere.
5. That whereas all the battering stores which lately came from England and now at Gibraltar, whether you could not send immediately a frigate or two to fetch them hither, those stores being absolutely necessary for this, or any other town, that is besieged, and it is most probable that the enemy will soon besiege some.

To all which points you will be pleased to give your answer, and to remark that in case we are not besieged whatever stores I have demanded of either war or mouth need not

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be landed, for it is sufficient that we may depend upon them in case we are.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble & most
obliged Servant,
J. RICHARDS.

P.S.—I need not mind you of that point in relation to the sick people at Gandia which my Lord Galway desires you if possible to take off, you having his letter before you.

LORD GALWAY TO MAJOR GENERAL RICHARDS

Alcira, 28th April 1707, N.S.

Sir,—I got Monsieur Dolon to write to you as soon as I arrived at Ontiniente being out of condition of doing it myself.

I cannot add many particulars, only that our Artillery is taken from us, and that no entire body of our foot is got off, only some few Officers and soldiers; as to the horse I believe there may be about 3,000 sound. We have resolved to pass with what we have here and at Valencia with all the diligence we can to Tortosa to see if we can join with the troops of His Majesty in Aragon and Catalonia to make up an army. I had to write to you yesterday that the Dutch Marines should stay in Alicante but General Frisheim has desired they may all be carried to Tortosa so instead of the Marines you have given the Admiral I can only let you have the detachment of 150 men in Jijona.

I send you an order for that purpose because if

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that I send Captain Parsons should be lost you may send him yours.

I should have been very glad to have seen you here but you are sensible our present circumstances won't allow of it. General Erle and your brother are both well.

I am,

Your most humble Servant,

GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Alcira,
28th April, 1707. N.S.

Sir,—I suppose you will have already heard the bad news of [the] battle being lost, by the letter I got written yesterday to M. G. Richards at my arrival at Ontiniente. I did not write to you being not in a condition, and having a desire to inform you more exactly of the particulars thereof. We have lost our artillery, and as to our foot none is returned in a body, only a few Officers and some scattering soldiers. As to the horse I believe there may be about 3,000 or more saved. You are sensible that with that we shall not be in a condition to form an Army able to protect the kingdom of Valencia. We just now resolved to pass with what we have here and at Valencia with all the diligence we can to Tortosa, to see if we can with the troops His Majesty has in Aragon and Catalonia make up an Army, but as it will be very difficult to have all those that are at Valencia go by land, we would fain embark the greatest part of them. To that end I must desire if you have any transports able to take in their boats iron ovens and other things belonging to us, you will

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send them to Valencia, and above all some small frigate that may cruise before Peniscola [?] for the safety of shore shipping.

As to the recruits I desire you will send the Portuguese those of the Dutch Marines that are in Aragon those of C. Noyelles son [?] and General Frisheim at Tortosa, and those of the Villiers [?] and Capell [?] Fox, as I wrote yesterday so Major General Richards desire they may be left in Alicante.

Our money, clothing, biscuit not come—must be landed neither at Denia nor Valencia, but carried to Tortosa.

And as you have thought fit to ask my opinion, it is that your presence with the fleet under your command will be very necessary at Barcelona so to encourage His Catholic Majesty's Court. Since this is written General Frisheim has been here who desires that all the Dutch recruits may be carried to Tortosa, so desire you will be pleased to do the same.

We send all our English wounded Officers with their baggage and a great number wounded soldiers as also the baggage of the absent and dead to the Groyne of Valencia, and without your helping hand they must all be lost, so hope you will provide with all possible expedition five or six transports for that service.

I am very sorry to be obliged to trouble you so much but in this juncture we want all manner of help.

I am,
Sir,
Your most faithful humble
Servant,
GALWAY.

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MAPA

DEL REYNO DE

VALENCIA.

DEDICADO

Al Seremissimo Señor Don

LUIS ANTONIO JAYME,

Infante de España.

Por Thomas Lopez, Pensionista de S.M. 1762.

Longitud Oriental de Madrid

Longitud Oriental de la Isla del Hierro

Longitud Oriental del Pico de Teneriffe

Explicacion de las Notas.

- Ciudad
- Villa Real
- Aldea, ó Lugar no privilegiado
- Fortaleza Real
- Castillo
- Hermita
- Venta
- T. Torre
- Titulo
- Arzobispado
- Obispado
- Abadia
- Universidad
- Ciudad, ó Villa, con voto en Cortes
- Esta lignea denota el confin del Reyno
- Esta divide en el Reyno los Goviernos
- Esta señala los Obispados
- Caminos

Leguas de 17½ al Grado

Leguas de una hora de Camino, ó de 20 al Grado

Leguas legales Castellanas de 5000 Varas, ó de 26⅔ al Grado

Millas de Italia de 60 en Grado

Se hallara en Madrid, en la Calle del Ave Maria, Casa de los Naturales, y frente de S. Bernardo, en la Abaniqueria.

NOTA.

Zulem que esta en el Governo de S. Phelipe, es del Governo de Denia.

Fuente de la Higuera, en el de Montesa, es de Morella.

Villanueva de la Reyna, y Benafer, en el de Morella, son de Castellon.

Cotes, en el de Alcira, es de Valencia.

AL LECTOR.

El P. Francisco Antonio Cassaus de la Compañia formó el Mapa del Reyno de Valencia, el año de 1693 por orden del Rey, y Capitan General Marquès de Castel Rodrigo. Este P. visitó Lugares, midió terrenos, y consiguió hacer un Mapa mas completo, y exacto en nombres, y distancias, que el que havia hecho, años antes D. Pedro Texeira. Le dividió en dos Governos, y dos Tenencias. Este Mapa passa por el mas exacto, y le he seguido en la maior parte, excepto en la division, que le he distribuido, segun, sus 13 actuales Governos. En la graduacion padeció mucho error, particularmente en la Longitud, y la corrijo segun mi sentir, reglado à las modernas observaciones. Tambien he hecho algunas mutaciones en la Costa, valiendome dela Carta Geografica, de las Costas de Valencia, y Murcia, que delineó el Cadete de Artilleria D. Carlos Desnauy, la que tengo manuscripta. Juan Bauptista Nolin Geografo frances, compuso el Mapa de los Reynos de Valencia, y Murcia, sobre el de Castella, y lo que escribió Rodrigo Mendez, es mui diminuto, y poco exacto en los nombres, y distancias de los Pueblos. Incolin Grabador frances, abrió un Maya pequeño de este Reyno, que padece los mismos defectos, que el antecedente, y erró la Costa, desde Alicante, ala vista de Murcia.

Latitudes, y Longitudes de la Ciudad de Valencia, sacadas de varios Autores.

	Latitud	Longitud
Segun Juan Bauptista Nolin	39° 30′	17° 47′
P. Cassaus	39° 31′	22° 23′
Incolin	39° 27′	18° 0
Barris Diccio.e de la Marniere	39° 30′	18° 49′
Serrano en sus Tablas Philipicas	39° 34′	18° 30′
Tosca de Diferencia de Madrid		3° 40′

Segun mi computo esta Valencia à los 39° 30′ de Latitud, y à los 17° 30′ de Longitud, contados desde la Isla del Hierro: à los 16° 28′ del Pico de Teneriffe: à los 3° 40′ 30″ de Madrid: 2° 22′ al Occidente de Paris, y a mui pocos minutos del meridiano de Londres.

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COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of Flag Officers and Captains held on board the Royal Anne in Alicante Road, 17th April, 1707, O.S.

PRESENT

Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral of the Blue,
Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue,
Captain Price,
Captain Hubbard,
Captain Baker,
Vice Admiral Van der Goes,
Captain Van Convent
Captain Beeckman

Major General Richards Governor of Alicante having sent yesterday in the evening a letter to Sir George Byng with a letter from Monsieur Dolon Aide de Camp to my Lord Galway General of the Army of the Allies in Spain, which letter was laid before the Council, who having taken into consideration the aforesaid letter, came to this opinion :

The Fleet, which at the desire of my Lord Galway was to go into the Bay of Valencia to land the money, provisions and baggage for the Army in Spain and by a Council of War was determined to sail this day for that service ; but upon the unfortunate action that has happened between the two Armies, the relation of which is sent to us from Governor Richards of Alicante : we do unanimously agree to remain with the fleet before Alicante, and assist what the fleet is able, to put

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the castle of Alicante in a condition of defence in a case of a siege, and to receive the overplus of the troops, and to carry them with the money and clothing etc. to Tortosa and Barcelona, as is desired by Monsieur Dolon's letter, which is sent as from my Lord Galway.

And this Council further considering the letter of Governor Richards of the 28th April, N.S., received this morning, which containing several heads that require the answer of this Council, who are desirous to do to the utmost of our power all that the Fleet is able for the interest and service of the Armies and Allies, do agree to the following resolutions, namely :—

1st. Whereas Governor Richards desires (pursuant to my Lord Galway's orders) that the fleet will receive the overplus of the troops, and carry them to Tortosa ; we do agree to receive them aboard and to carry them to Tortosa, if he will direct their embarking, and that as soon as possible Governor Richards will send the account and number that are to be embarked, that our boats may attend that service at the appointed time.

2ndly. Governor Richards proposing that he be supplied with two months provisions for 1,200 additional men of the fleet : we having no store ships with provisions, neither in the English nor Dutch Squadrons, and the ships of the same being only victualled for the service of this Expedition, and even out of that provision the troops that are to be transported for Tortosa, are to be victualled : we are therefore unable to leave such a quantity of provisions for those additional men ; but

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there are in the Fleet some transports with bread and corn designed for the Army, and was to be landed in Valencia. Governor Richards may be supplied with what quantity he will demand out of the same; but in regard that the town of Alicante is not yet blockaded, do not doubt but Governor Richards will take the necessary care to secure such quantities of cattle, as may supply, with such other provisions as are now in the town, the want of flesh for those additional men.

3rdly. Major General Richards desiring a supply of two thousand twelve pound shot for the defence of the Castle of Alicante; the Council considering the same, and the finding that of the English there are but two ships that have any cannon of that nature, out of which can spare but four hundred and the ships of the States General being very desirous likewise to afford their utmost help, will supply fifteen hundred, which is near the number desired.

4thly. As to supplying shot for the five guns that are said to be in the town (the carriages of the rest being destroyed by Governor Gorges) Governor Richards not mentioning the quantity of shot he has for those guns, nor number nor nature of what he may want, we are not able to make answer to it, but desire the Governor will consider, that it being early in the year, the fleet not yet joined, and the many services that may attend them in this Summer, he will not desire any unreasonable supply from them.

5thly. That as to the five artillery ships which we found here, they being laden with ordnance

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stores for the Army, and under the direction of the General, shall leave them to the observation of their orders, and hope that if any ordnance stores Governor Richards is in want of, be in those ships, he will supply himself out of them, without desiring it from the fleet, the want of which may disable us from future service; and as to leaving men of war for receiving the garrison of the town when it shall be proper for the fleet to sail; we are unanimously of opinion that the Fleet be not separated, in regard we have no certain intelligence of the Naval preparations of the enemy.

6thly. As to the stores which are at Gibraltar, they being ordered by the land Generals to be put ashore there, and are under their directions, we do presume they will send their orders for what shall be wanting and can be spared from that place, of which we are no judges, not knowing what they are, nor have any directions relating to them.

Having answered the particulars in what we are able to assist, do desire the Governor will come to a speedy resolution of what is to be embarked, that we may come to a further resolution for proceeding as shall be most proper for the public service.

G. Byng.
Jno. Norris.
J. Price.
John Hubbard.
Jno. Baker.
P. Van der Goes.
Joh. Van Convent.
C. Beeckman.

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COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of Flag Officers and Captains held on board the Royal Anne in Alicante Road, 18th April, 1707. O.S.

PRESENT

Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral of the Blue.
Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue.
Captain Price.
Captain Baker.
Captain Hartnoll.
Vice Admiral Van der Goes.
Captain Van Convent.
Captain Beeckman.

My Lord Galway's letter to Sir George Byng of the 28th April, N.S., and his Lordship's letter of the same date, to Governor Richards, as likewise Governor Richards' letter to Sir George Byng of this day's date, being laid before this Council, and considered: it is unanimously agreed and resolved, that we do immediately receive the Portuguese and Dutch recruits that were landed at Alicante, and to carry them to Tortosa, together with the money, clothing and provisions for the Army, as my Lord Galway desires.

That a ship be sent to Denia, to bring from thence what men and baggage may be appointed by the Generals of the Army, and the sick if possible, from Gandia.

That with the rest of the fleet and the transports we do proceed into the Bay of Valencia, from the Groyne of which, receive on board the hospitals and the transports what Officers and

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men, well, sick and wounded, shall be sent off to the fleet, and to carry them likewise to Tortosa, or such other places on the coast of Catalonia, as shall be thought proper.

That in answer to Governor Richards letter, he desiring the one hundred and sixty Marines, which were taken off for manning the squadron, may be landed again; my Lord Galway by his letter of the 28th, N.S., to Governor Richards, having directed one hundred and fifty men from Jijona to reinforce the garrison in the room of the Marines taken on board the fleet; we are of opinion, the said Marines should remain aboard.

Secondly, Governor Richards desiring fifteen hundred bags of biscuit may be landed at Alicante the Council observing, my Lord Galway's desire is to have the money, clothing and biscuit with us be landed at Tortosa; and observing the quantity of biscuit in the storeships for the Army is not above seventeen hundred bags in all, are of opinion that we only land at Alicante one month's biscuit for one hundred men, believing from my Lord Galway's desire, that bread may be wanted for the Army that may be assembled at Tortosa; understanding likewise that the Castle is already provided with provisions, and the fleet being daily expected with Sir Clowdisley Shovell before this place, may be farther supplied from them.

As to salt flesh, we can spare none from the fleet, but will advise Sir Clowdisley Shovell as Governor Richards does desire.

Governor Richards representing the impossibility of having proper orders from Mr. Mead or Lord Galway to detain part of the public money, that is in the Fleet for the service of the Army, and that the garrison of Alicante will be entirely

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undone without the help of some moneys; we therefore think it reasonable that one chest of silver should be delivered into the custody of Governor Richards, for the use and defence of the Castle, and the troops in it.

As to what Governor Richards proposes about the sick and wounded at Gandia, the Council has, on my Lord Galway's desire, taken all measures possible in that case, and desire Governor Richards will despatch immediately an express to the chief officers at those places, to embark so soon as possible, all the sick and wounded, and what else the Generals of the Army require to be brought from thence, in the transport that is in Denia, and in such other ship or vessel as can be got on that coast, ready to be received by the men of war that shall be sent to Denia for that purpose.

As to the Governor's advice to the Vice-Admiral of Holland about embarking his sick men, he has already taken proper measures as to the four thousand eighteen pound shot desired by Governor Richards for the defence of the town of Alicante, the Council are of opinion, that as they have already provided for the Castle the shot required, and this being but the beginning of the campaign, and this squadron having no more ammunition than what is absolutely necessary for immediate service, cannot spare any more from the fleet.

As to the frigate desired by Governor Richards particularly to attend this place; having none in the squadron, nor ships, but what are appointed for greater service, cannot for the present appoint such ship: but so soon as possible, a sixth rate shall be sent to this place for such intelligence as may be for the Army or fleet.

Upon examining the shot of the fleet, find we

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cannot supply the whole number of the nineteen hundred shot that was ordered, but have to make it up, sent two hundred nine pound shot, which we hope may be sufficient.

G. BYNG. P. VAN DER GOES.
JNO. NORRIS. JOH. VAN CONVENT.
JN. PRICE. C. BEECKMAN.
J. BAKER.
J. HARTNOLL.

CONSULTATION

At a Consultation between Sir George Byng, Kt., Vice Admiral of the Blue, and Sir John Norris, Kt., Rear Admiral of the Blue on board the Royal Anne at Sea, the 22nd of April, 1707. [O.S.]

Whereas the Orford and Winchester being lately cleaned are joined us from Sir Clowdisley Shovell, and were intended by him to be joined with other ships, and by Sir George Byng's directions to proceed together with a storeship for the Duke of Savoy, to Italy, under the command of Sir John Norris, he having instructions and letters from Sir Clowdisley Shovell to communicate to His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, which are of very great importance : And in regard by Intelligence we have heard that the French have a Squadron cruising off Cape Mallora, and it being impossible for the Squadron to make a detachment superior to them, from the present services they are under, we are therefore of opinion that Sir John Norris should immediately proceed with the two ships Orford and Winchester only, to the Coast of Italy, and the store ship to

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remain with the Fleet till Sir Clowdisley Shovell joins them (which we hope will be in a small time) or that we have a more certain account of the enemy's preparations whereby we may be more safe in the sending of them.

G. BYNG.
JNO. NORRIS.

FROM LORD GALWAY

At the gate of Valencia,
5th May, 1707, N.S.

Sir,—I just now received your letter you have favoured me with at your leaving Alicante, by which I have notice of the Fleets approaching. I thank you for the care you have taken, we are going to order all our sick and wounded on board as fast as we can. I shall be obliged to you, if you will give the necessary orders for some of our baggage to be taken on board also. I hope all the sick and wounded that were in Gandia have been embarked at Denia or brought here.

I thank you for the care you have taken of Alicante in leaving the necessary things there for the Garrison, etc.

I hear by M. G. Richards that five ships laden with artillery are not gone from Alicante to Gibraltar for want of a convoy, and as your artillery will be necessary for the undertaking of the fleet this year, I believe it will be very material that those five ships should join your squadron or Sir Clowdisley Shovell's; therefore if you are of the same opinion I believe it would be very necessary to send a convoy to bring them to you. We have no other account of the enemy's troops but their army is divided in several bodies, whereof one

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has been sent towards Mojente, and another to Requena, and some small parties have advanced as far as Bunol which is but six leagues from this town.

We march this day to Murviedro in order to go to Tortosa as I have already written you word.

I am,
Sir,
Your most faithful humble Servant,
GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Cabanes,
8th May, 1707. [N.S.]

Sir,—The Conde De la Corsana, Viceroy of this Kingdom will be in [*sic*] his way to Barcelona, gives his orders at Tortosa for some necessaries wanting at Denia, which I desire you will order to be sent thither in a frigate, which after that service, I beg you will order to sail as soon as possible to Alicante to take on board the Officers and Sergeants of Col. Blosset's Regiment, and the Officers, Sergeants etc. of the Regiments lately reduced which are not yet gone from thence and to sail with them to Tortosa, the necessity of the service requiring to form a body of foot of Catalans who commanded by good Officers, may put us in a condition to oppose the enemy.

The enclosed I desire may go with the frigate you send.

I am with great esteem Sir,
Your most faithful, most humble Servant,
GALWAY.

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FROM MAJOR CHARLES PERCIVALL

Denia Castle,
9th May, 1707, N.S.

Sir,—Since I had the honour of being on board you, I have received two expresses from my Lord Galway, wherein he has ordered me to defend this Castle to the last extremity, which I hope to do with good success, provided I can be supplied with ammunition, which we are in great want of. Col. Chardeloup is Engineer and waits on you with this, who will fully inform you of what we want, here is also about twenty five sick men sent here to be shipped for Tortosa, but have no way of getting off, except you pleased to send for them ; Xativa is besieged, and the Bishop of Murcia has joined the Forces there with about nine hundred Boors [*sic*], they give out they will be here very soon.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble & obedient
Servant,
CHA. PERCIVALL.

FROM LORD GALWAY

At Cabanes,
10th May, 1707, N.S.

Sir,—I wrote to you two days ago to desire you would order a frigate to Denia with such things as the Vice Roy has ordered to be got ready at Tortosa to transport thither, and then to proceed to Alicante to take on board the Officers and Sergeants of Col. Blosset's regiment it being a service absolutely necessary at this juncture of time in order to have your regiments raised in

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Catalonia, I repeat this lest my first letter should be lost, and am, Sir,

with great esteem,

Your most faithful & humble

Servant,

GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Tortosa,
15th May, 1707. [N.S.]

Sir,—I have just come hither, and Col. Turner waits on you to invite you to this place since you are willing to take that trouble. We would then settle together several affairs if]?] the recruits be no longer troublesome to you; you will please to order them to be landed when you please the nearest to this place that can be and I shall be obliged to you if you can send up to this place the clothing of the R. Dragoons and R. Fusiliers with the mountings of General Frisheim's regiment, not knowing how to send for them. I must beg of you that the rest of the clothing do remain to be landed at Barcelona.

Mr. Mead will give an account of what money is to be landed here, the rest will be sent to Barcelona.

I shall be very impatient to have the honour to embrace you here being more than any man,

Sir,

Your most faithful most humble

Servant,

GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Tortosa, 15th May, 1707. [N.S.].

Sir,—I am very sorry that I cannot go and wait on you on board, but there is horses sent you

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and as the Army marches all over the River Ebro tomorrow, please when you come ashore to come on that side of Tortosa for fear that you should meet with some of the enemy's parties on the other.

I am sorry I have detained you any time seeing how desirous you are to go forth with to Barcelona and how necessary a piece of service it is, but came to Tortosa this afternoon only. As to all the men that are to be landed Col. Jones, Governor of this town, has promised me he would send tomorrow morning boats for that purpose, but beg you will order them also to be landed off Tortosa side that the River Ebro may be between them and the enemy. As to the necessaries brought for the use of the Army, I know of nothing to be landed here but two thousand arms for such men as want them, and as to the biscuit, corn, etc. it will be for the service to have it carried to Barcelona. Mr. Frisheim, the Dutch General, has written to-day about his men being landed which is desired may be off Tortosa side.

Of the clothing all I beg may be landed here is the Royal Fusiliers and the Queen's Royal Regiment of Dragoons. I thank you kindly for the ship you sent to Teresa[?] for the Mortars and other necessities.

I am, Sir,
With great truth
Your most faithful humble Servant,
GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Tortosa, May 17th, 1707. [N.S.].

Sir,—I forgot to settle with you which way we can send timber to Denia and Alicante whether the ship you leave can carry twelve trees, which is the least I would send but if not Col. Jones

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tells me there is a transport which came from Barcelona with biscuits which if you have not otherwise employed might go with the frigate and carry more timber. I will send the smaller trees and leave the bigger for the use of the Fleet which Col. Jones tells me are very good and in great quantities. Pray let me know the name of the ship and the Captain's name you leave to take General Bassett on board.

I am with great truth, Sir,
Your most faithful most humble Servant,
GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

At Tortosa, 20th May, 1707, N.S.

Sir,—Having been informed of your charitable deed towards our sick in re-embarking them, this is to give you my hearty thanks for it. I am surprised with the negligence of our Officers therein and am very angry with those whose fault it is. I am always very much obliged to you for the care you have of our people and am with great truth,

Sir,
Your most faithful humble Servant,
GALWAY.

FROM LORD GALWAY

Tortosa, 25th May, 1707 [N.S.].

Sir,—Mr. Stanhope acquaints me of your safe arrival at Barcelona, and of your desire to proceed to Italy for succours, in which I wish you all success and a quick return, the security of this coast and the necessity of a frequent commerce with Denia and Alicante upon which the safety of all our garrisons in Valencia depends, makes me

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earnestly request you will do me the favour to send me a frigate with orders to receive my directions as also to renew the same orders to the new Castle that I may keep a constant correspondence with Denia and Alicante, and secure this coast. I hope this will come in time to your hands, and trust you will grant me this request so necessary at this juncture. I reckon the best place the frigate can come to will be at the Alfaques which will secure this river and much encourage these parts. I shall take care of Mr. Harvey and am with a particular esteem,

Sir,

Your most faithful & most humble Servant,

GALWAY.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War of Flag Officers and Captains held on board the Royal Anne in Barcelona Road, 19th May, 1707, O.S.

PRESENT

Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral of the Blue.
Captain Price,
Captain Hubbard
Captain Baker
Captain Passenger
Vice Admiral Van der Goes.
Captain Van Convent.
Captain Beeckman.

Sir George Byng having acquainted the Council of War that all the necessaries for the Army of the Allies in Spain are landed, that the transports are cleared and ready to proceed on any service that may be required from them, and having laid before

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the Council his instructions from Sir Clowdisley Shovell, the intelligence he has had from Italy both from persons employed from the Fleet, and the Secretary of State to the King of Spain, his letter and advices from their Minister at the Court of Turin, and that of the Duke of Savoy's Minister residing here, with advices this Court received last night from Italy, as likewise the King of Spain's letter of the 22nd May, N.S., which desires this Fleet to proceed to Italy.

This Council of War taking into their consideration the aforesaid instructions, advices, and request of the King of Spain in this juncture, unanimously are of opinion that in consideration of the further advices expected daily by ships from Italy, from a ship sent off Marseilles and Toulon, do resolve that the Fleet remain in this road all this week to give that time for the preparing and the getting ready the ships and the vessels the King of Spain proposes to send with this Fleet, for the forces His Majesty expects from Italy and in expectation of Sir Clowdisley Shovell's joining us from Lisbon or more certain intelligence from Italy, but after that to proceed with the fleet to Equita [?], both to comply with the King of Spain's desire that troops shall be spared to his assistance from Italy, and likewise to lie ready on that coast to receive the Duke of Savoy's directions for the Fleets co-operating with the Army of the Allies in Italy in the project on foot between the Queen of Great Britain, the States General and the Duke of Savoy.

G. BYNG.
JNO. PRICE.
JOHN HUBBARD.
JNO. BAKER.
W. PASSENGER.
P. VAN DER GOES.
JOH. VAN CONVENT.
C. BEECKMAN.

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SIR GEORGE BYNG AND THE PORTUGUESE

When Sir Geo. Byng was upon the point of sailing from Lisbon with the Fleet, an English man-of-war that had been out a-cruising brought in a Portuguese ship as his prize which he had retaken from the French. The Portuguese merchants applied to their Court to have the ship restored, and the ministers to my Lord Galway the English Ambassador. My Lord Galway acquainting Sir Geo. Byng with it, was answered by him, that the Portuguese ship having been more than forty-eight hours in the hands of the English was become a good prize and that it was not in his powers to dispose of that which belonged to others, she being now the property of the captors. The merchants and the Court of Portugal were not only little satisfied with this refusal, but grew very uneasy, and the Court of Portugal pressed the delivery of her very earnestly. Upon this Sir George Byng acquainted them that he was willing to give her up though he paid the captors for her himself to show his readiness to maintain the good harmony between the two Courts but this not at the demand of the merchants, but at the particular request of the King, if he would make it so. But this the King did not care to do, but would have the ship restored at the demand of the merchants, and this Sir George Byng absolutely refused. Then Sir George Byng was acquainted with the orders sent to the Castle not to suffer him to pass as he was going down the River and he gave them to understand that he should take them for the Queen's enemies that offered to fire at her flag and that he had given orders to all his ships to act accordingly, which

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he did, and then he weighed, sailing in one line from down the River every ship with her lower tier of guns out and in a posture of battle; but the Portuguese thought better of it and recalled the orders they sent to the Castles, and Sir Geo. Byng sailed unmolested by them. He was fully determined in case they had fired but one gun to have brought his ships against the Castles and to have done what he could to revenge the insult to the Queen's flag which he bore. He was determined not to behave himself as Sir John Leake had done, for upon the certain intelligence received that the galleons were to sail of a particular day from Cadiz to the West Indies, he determined to sail with the fleet out of Lisbon River in quest of them. The Spanish faction at the Portuguese Court prevailed so much as to send an order to the Governors of their Castles not to suffer any ship whatsoever to pass till further orders upon the knowledge they had of Sir John's intentions to go after the galleons, and when he got under sail they fired at him from one of the Castles and at the same time the Governor sent off to let him know what his orders were. Sir John Leake instead of resenting the affront of firing at the Queen's flag in order to stop him brought to upon it and came to anchor. Indeed, he sent up to complain of it at Court and then they excused it, as that he was not intended to be included in those orders which were only for other ships. However, he was stopped with the fleet long enough to answer the purpose for the time he lost in sending up his complaints was just enough to save the Spanish Fleet and Galleons which he only saw the rear of when he went out after them, except one that he took (the Arogant).

Sir Geo. Byng in his opinion blamed Sir John

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Leake for suffering himself to be thus insulted and that he was determined never to suffer it if it ever happened to be his case, and now it was, he was resolved to act quite differently in it and in this he thought himself the better grounded from the blame which so generally fell upon Sir John Leake.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT

At Lisbon when Sir G. B. commanded the fleet, one of his cruisers brought in there a Portuguese ship which had been taken by the French and now retaken. The owners at Lisbon claimed her. Sir George Byng was ready to give her up under the consideration of a salvage due to the captors for a ship retaken after being a certain time in the enemy's hands, according to the laws of nations. But it was not in his power to give her quite up without that consideration, for it would be giving away the property of others, which he could not do. The King of Portugal was very warm in insisting on the delivery of the ship without any consideration at all, and threatened fight who was then upon sailing that unless the vessel was delivered up he should not go out of the River. Sir G. B. to prevent things running to a great height and to prevent a rupture at that time between the two Courts upon this trifle sent word to the King of Portugal that his going out of the River should never be the condition of his delivering up the ship in the way they insisted upon it; that to make the King easy in this affair, he would himself make a present of the ship to His Majesty and make good out of his own pocket what was due as salvage to the captors which was a right

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of theirs he could not dispose of. The King of Portugal refused to accept of the ship in this manner, and Sir G. B. being now upon sailing made a disposition of his fleet to sail one after the other and issued out orders to all Captains to run out their lower tier of guns and to fire upon those who should fire upon them and to go on. And he sent to acquaint the King with the orders he had given and that if a gun was fired at him, he should look upon it immediately as a breach between the two Crowns.

Sir G. B. sailed with the fleet according to the disposition made and passed all the Castles and Forts without a gun being fired at him.

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PART VII

June-August 1707

THE COMBINED OPERATIONS AGAINST TOULON

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE project for the capture and destruction of the French naval base and arsenal at Toulon was Marlborough's most cherished strategic contribution to the war. Even his Blenheim campaign, a purely defensive operation, must be judged incomplete without what should have been its overwhelming counter-attack.

From Toulon the French could send troops by sea to Spain, to Italy and to Egypt, and by land to Spain and Italy along the coast roads, while by using it for purely naval purposes they could protect their own commerce, interrupt every one else's, and completely dominate the Western Mediterranean. But the elements necessary for a successful attack on it were so difficult to manipulate that the project always failed. In 1707 the allies employed the joint fleet of England and the States-General, Imperialist troops under Prince Eugene, and the army of the Duke of Savoy.

The course of the operations is so fully described by the succeeding papers that little comment needs to be made. Byng in his two Accounts gives an admirable summary of the subtle influences constantly at work to produce failure.

Lieut.-Commander J. H. Owen has drawn my attention to certain resemblances which these Accounts bear to Norris' Journal, who, it will be remembered, was employed as liaison officer between the Duke and the fleet. It is noteworthy that Byng blames Prince Eugene, although he admits that his supposed backwardness was largely due to the bad impression created when the Emperor withdrew part of the Imperial troops for an attack on Naples. Again, in praising the energy of the Duke of Savoy, he admits his extraordinary hesitation and depression when he first arrived before Toulon at a

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moment when a sudden and vigorous attack might easily have been successful. Byng's description of Shovell's interview with the Duke on this occasion is most interesting and graphic, and goes far to support Sir Julian Corbett's view that it was the Duke who was mainly responsible for the failure.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that Sir Julian Corbett's unstinted praise of Eugene is largely based on his brilliant co-operation with Marlborough in the Blenheim campaign, when the capital of the Empire was in danger. An equal degree of zeal could hardly be expected when the object was the increase of English sea power. Evidently Eugene sensed the feeling of the English naval commanders, for in Byng's second Account he explicitly denies all the charges brought against himself and the Emperor.

A little reflection will show that of all the allies concerned the English stood to gain more by the enterprise than any of the others. The Duke had no navy and in any case feared the French revenge, while neither the Emperor nor the Dutch wished to see the English masters of the Western Mediterranean. Like so many other enterprises of a like nature, the allies were suspicious of each other, failed to co-operate, and therefore failed altogether, while Byng's Account definitely hints at a breakdown in the military hygiene.

A word must be said, in conclusion, for Marshall Tessé, who, though at first outnumbered and confused by the multitude of his enemies, and though some distance away when the attack threatened, acted with promptness and decision. When once he realised the true objective of the allied advance he managed to extend the fortifications of Toulon by an elaborate system of entrenchments which apparently extended the allied frontage and made naval co-operation more difficult. In any case the value of naval bombardment was greatly reduced by lack of proper observation posts ashore, and Byng gives an interesting account of the methods employed for indirect fire from the fleet over hill tops. His treatment of the town of Hieres is an interesting sidelight on contemporary methods of land warfare.

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COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War held on board Her Majesty's ship the Association before Finale, June 22nd, 1707.

PRESENT

Sir Clowdisley Shovell, Admiral
Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral
Sir Thomas Dilkes, Rear Admiral
Captain Edmund Loades
Vice Admiral Van der Goes
Captain Van Convent

Having seen a letter to the Admiral of the 30 inst. N.S. from the Duke of Savoy, wherein His Royal Highness signifies that he will be with the Army near Nice the 8th or 9th July N.S. and desires the Confederate Fleet may go to the Bay of St. Hospice, to be there by that time ; and that if the transports with the ammunition and provisions be not ready, they should be ordered to follow thither : we are therefore unanimously of opinion, that in regard to the frequent calms in these seas at this season, we sail immediately with the Confederate Fleet and proceed to the Bay of St. Hospice, and that every ship of the line in the Fleet do prepare one gun of such nature as the Admirals of England and Holland shall direct, with its carriage and all other utensils and men, together with 200 rounds of powder and shot, to be landed when the Admiral hoists a flag striped red, white and blue at the Flagstaff on the mizen-topmast-head and fires a gun.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas it was resolved yesterday at a Council of War, that the Confederate Fleet should as soon as possible sail to the Bay of St. Hospice in order to co-operate with the Duke of Savoy and his Army in those parts, against the French; and the wind and weather not suffering the fleet to sail, therefore it is judged for the service, that a squadron of ten or twelve sail of the line should make the best of their way to the Bay of St. Hospice, the place appointed for the general rendezvous; and Vice-Admiral Van der Goes will join to you four ships of the States General. You are hereby desired and required to take with you the nine ships in the margin,[1] together with the four ships of the States General, and make the best of your way to the Bay of St. Hospice; and upon finding His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy or the Confederate Army in those parts, you are to use all diligence to assist in attacking any of the enemy's towns or Castles upon the sea coast, with guns, ammunition, and Gunners, as you shall judge most proper; but you are not to exceed twenty guns, till the arrival of more ships to strengthen you. Dated on board the Association in the Bay of Finale, June 23rd, O.S., 1707.

CLOW. SHOVELL.

[1]

English.		*Dutch.*
Royal Anne	Elizabeth	de Prins
St. George	Swiftsure	Munckendam [?]
Torbay	York	Wassenaer
Newark	Sorlingues	Crauweker [?]
Cornwall		

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DUKE OF SAVOY TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Translation.

Sir Clowdisley Shovell,—The tenth or eleventh of this month the Army will encamp between Nice and the Var ; therefore you will go and post yourself with the Confederate Fleet over against us in such part as you shall judge the most proper and safe, that we may talk together and concert all things. Expecting the pleasure of seeing you, I remain most truly,

Sir Clowdisley Shovell,
Your very affectionate
V. AMADE.

At Sospel, the 7th July, 1707 [N.S.].

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War on board Her Majesty's ship the Association before Nice, July 3 d O.S. 1707.

PRESENT

Sir Clowdisley Shovell, Kt., Admiral.
Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral.
Sir Thomas Dilkes, Rear Admiral.
Sir Jno. Norris, Rear Admiral.
Captain Edmund Loades.
Captain Van Convent.
Captain Beeckman.

The Duke of Savoy having resolved with the Army to march to Toulon in order to attack that important place, by which some of the enemy's garrisons and troops will be already in his rear

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and hinder his communication with his own country by land, therefore it is resolved that two ships of war be appointed to remain in these parts, and cruise as shall be thought most advisable from Antibes to Monaco to render our communication by sea more secure, and interrupt the enemy's navigation, and desire His Royal Highness's row boats may be placed on this service as he shall think fit.

That Sir George Byng with about twelve men of war of the Confederate Fleet, do if possible sail near the shore abreast of the Army as they march toward Toulon, taking such transports with provisions as His Royal Highness's Intendant shall judge necessary, and have always twenty guns ready with men, ammunition, and all things necessary to be landed, as His Royal Highness shall direct.

And it being very hazardous to keep the sea with the embarkation, which will be subject to be blown off this coast and lose company to the endangering of the success of the enterprise on Toulon, therefore it is our opinion, that the Admiral with the rest of the Confederate Fleet, transports, Victuallers and Ammunition Ships, make the best of their way to the Islands of Hieres, which is judged a port secure from the weather, to attend the arrival of the Army for the execution of the projects on Toulon.

That the Fleet will furnish from 80 to 100 guns as His Royal Highness shall think fit, of which the ships of the States General will furnish 20, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot and everything necessary for service with the said guns, and the ships of Her Majesty of Great Britain, the Admiral acquainting us, that with the provision he has made and the 3,000 quintals of powder

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which is in the fleet that were for His Royal Highness, as also including the 29,000 shot of which His Royal Highness has provided, will make up the whole 6,500 barrels of powder and 60,000 shot presuming His Royal Highness will give his orders for making and raising the batteries and furnishing everything proper for that, as also to provide beasts for drawing the guns to the batteries.

If His Royal Highness possesses himself of Toulon and thinks of remaining there all Winter, Admiral Shovell proposes to leave 22 ships of Her Majesty's of the line with frigates, fire ships etc. and 20 transport ships which will carry about 250 men each on any emergent occasion, but if there be great occasion for transportation before the Fleets part, we are able to take aboard the fleet at one time near 20,000 men, and there will be ships always ready to transport horses, provided they bring provisions with them, and if the States General do not send orders, none of their ships can remain in the Mediterranean this Winter.

If the Army be near the Fleet and it is impossible to make bread, the Fleet will furnish three or four days' bread, that His Royal Highness will please to direct our being repaid.

Resolved that wind and weather permitting the Fleet sails tomorrow and the place of rendezvous to be the Isles of Hieres.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Whereas it was yesterday resolved at a Council of War, that you with a squadron of about twelve men of war of the Confederate Fleet, should if

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possible sail near the shore abreast of the Army as they march toward Toulon; you are hereby desired and directed to take with you the ten ships in the margin,[1] together with such ships of the States General as shall be ordered to join you, and proceed accordingly with them, as also such transports as shall be necessary; and move along shore as you shall be advised of the motions of the Army; and upon receipt of any orders from His Royal Highness, or notice given you by Sir John Norris, you are to prepare and use all diligence to land twenty guns, with ammunition and Gunners and all things necessary, to be employed as His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy shall direct.

Dated on board the Association at Nice.
July 4th, O.S., 1707.
CLOUD. SHOVELL [SIC].

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association,
$\frac{13}{24}$ July, 1707, Sunday.

Sir,—The letter which Capt. Samson brought me comes from the Duke of Savoy, and is particularly to know what news we have, and what is done toward setting up of ovens for the baking of bread, and therefore I desire you will let me know immediately what intelligence or accounts you have as to the strength of Toulon, what number of troops are in it, how many of them may be regular troops, and what army you hear they have

[1] Royal Anne, St. George, Cornwall, Newark, Torbay, Elizabeth, Swiftsure, Monmouth, York, Tilbury

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in these parts, and where their camp is. And as to the other point, I desire you will let me know what number of ovens there can be had at Hieres and whether there be convenience for building more. I desire you answer as soon as possible, because His Royal Highness desires I will write him in ciphers. I will order Sir Wm. Jumper to send you some masons and artificers he has of the Duke of Savoy, which you may set to work immediately for building of ovens.

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

I would have you likewise speak to the people of Hieres, to help these masons and that they prepare and bring brush and firing for baking of bread.

SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL TO THE DUKE OF SAVOY

Association near Hieres,
13th July, 1707 [O.S.].

Monseigneur,—I am honoured with your Royal Highness's letter and commands of yesterday from the camp at Pignans; the wind has been so violent that I could not till now get about ashore to bring this, and I believe has forced some of our store-ships out of the road, but I have sent frigates to receive them and bring them in.

What I have to inform your Royal Highness in answer to your commands, is, that the Islands of Hieres being more than two leagues from the continent, and that it happens sometimes that the

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weather is so bad that it may be two or three days before boats can [go ?] between them and the main, and would employ most of our boats, I judged it not proper to build ovens on those Islands; but having advise that the town of Hieres had submitted to your Royal Highness I have directed Vice-Admiral Byng to see what ovens are in that place, and to acquaint the people that they fit them and get them in a readiness and bring wood together for heating them to bake bread; and I have sent the masons and bakers that belong to your Royal Highness and were in the Fleet ashore to Sir George Byng at Hieres to assist in repairing the ovens that are there and building of new.

As to the affair of Toulon, I have spoken with several people from Marseilles and several Genoese boats come from the towns between Marseilles and Toulon, and they all agree that there are but two battalions of regular troops in Toulon, besides some seamen and the Guards Marine of the ships, and that they have made the latter officers to command the militia which are in the town. If there be any more troops in Toulon they are such as your Royal Highness has driven before you in your march from Antibes and other places; and that no troops from Susa or the Valley of Aosta are arrived yet in these parts. I have now with me three officers that have been in the French service and are lately come from Marseilles. One of them is the Cher. de Natta d'Alf . . .[?], Colonel of a regiment that was taken in Alessandria, and says he had his Highness P. Eugene's leave to go into France to solicit the money that is due to him. He has been at Paris, but to no purpose; he likewise gives the same account of Toulon, and the enemy's forces hereabouts. I keep him and the other officers here in order to send them to

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your Royal Highness upon your arrival, which I shall do, and am with most sincere obedience,

Monseigneur,

Your Royal Highness's faithfull and Most humble Servant,

C. S.

SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL TO SIR JOHN NORRIS

Association near Hieres,
13th July, 1707, Sunday at nine at night.

Sir,—This afternoon I received a letter from His Royal Highness dated yesterday from his camp at Pignans, but the weather has been so bad till this evening that I could not send a boat ashore. I have not made use of the cipher to write to His Royal Highness because I judge he is so near, that there is no fear the conveyance will be safe. I send you a copy of my letter, and I have desired Sir George Byng if he has any advice to add, that he will write it to you here ; he arrived with me the 11th and yesterday I ordered him to anchor with the ships that were with him, before the town of Hieres. I have likewise sent Sir Thos. Dilkes with a squadron before the mouth of the Port of Toulon to look for His Royal Highness that way, but the weather has been so bad, I believe he did not venture in ; or if he were there could not get anything ashore.

We are not certain of landing our cannon to the westward of Hieres as occasion may call for them, though Sir Thomas Dilkes who has been there says there are good bays for that purpose ; but fresh westerly winds may disappoint us ; but

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I am informed at Hieres we may land them at any time.

These gales have obliged us to strike yards and topmasts, and have drove some of our small vessels from us. Sir Thos. Dilkes is now in the offing, and today took a [*word illegible*], but he is so far off we can hear nothing from him ; so have no more to add at present but my service to Mr. Chetwynd and yourself, and am,

Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association, July 15th, 1707.

Sir,—I return you Norris' letter to yourself, as also his to me, and the translation of the Duke's, by which you will see what His Royal Highness desires. I have acquainted him what you have done in relation to the ovens, and must desire you will give the necessary direction and take all possible precaution for obliging the people of Hieres to get together all the oxen that can be had for drawing of guns. I perceive by Norris' letter that he has not received mine which I sent you open with a copy of what I wrote the Duke. I suppose you forgot to send it, if so pray send it him now. You see what he writes about forage for himself and the Envoy, which I recommend to you, and that you will despatch this packet away by some safe conveyance as soon as possible.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association. July 15th, 1707.

Sir,—I have received yours by your Lieutenant with the copy of your directions to Major Ramsay, wherein I think you are very right, as you will always be. I have nothing particular to write to you, but that I shall be glad to be informed certainly where the Duke and Army is.

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

My sore leg keeps me in my cabin, but hope to be well enough to get out in two or three days. I wonder I have nothing from Norris I doubt if [*writing illegible*] I must send [?] my own to you; he is a good sober man.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association. July 18th, 1707.
Near Hieres.

Sir,—The Duke of Savoy being designed to encamp with part of his Army to the Northward of Toulon in order to block up that place, I would have you take with you the ships in the margin,[1] and such of the ships of the States General as shall be ordered to join you, and sail together and endeavour to anchor in the Bay between Embiers and Bendor in order to hold communication with

[1] Royal Anne
Cornwall
Newark
Elizabeth
Monmouth
Orford
Tilbury
Enterprise
Phœnix fire ship.

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that part of the Army, and to assist in such services as His Royal Highness shall direct by landing of guns, ammunition, etc.,

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association at Hieres,
July 21st, 1707.

Sir,—In order to engage P. Eugene to go vigorously on with this affair here, for I believe it stops most on his account,[1] I have promised him to send three men of war to Genoa to convoy from thence some Cannon and ammunition to Naples, which he is very desirous of, but could not bring me to it till now; I design the Orford, Dunkirk and Winchester on that service and therefore have sent the Swiftsure to remain with you, and would have you send Cornwall hither to me. We have no news to-day from the Camp; we have landed the pickaxes and shovels and are going to land 20 guns more but I don't see they have made any great advance since the taking of the Fort of St. Katherine.

I am,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

We expect to-day that they will take away the 20 cannon that are landed and all the pickaxes and shovels.

[1] As Sir Julian Corbett points out, the British government constantly assured the Emperor that 'they could take Naples for him at any moment, when once Toulon was destroyed.'

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association near Hieres,
July 22nd, 1707.

Sir,—Since what I wrote you yesterday of Captain Griffith they have carried away all their Pickaxes and shovels and some of the guns we landed with by this time I suppose are at the Camp; I have not anything from thence to-day nor do I hear that Prince Eugene discovers any great disposition yet to go on with the affair, the Duke of Savoy has advice by the way of France that Sir Wm. Whetstone met with the Dunkirk Squadron and has taken four and destroyed three, the Duke says the party that sends him the intelligence used to be very exact and he believes it to be true.

The Army has taken an advanced Post of the Enemy's called St. Katherine, near the hills, with the loss of 20 men, the enemy split up four guns that were in it and blew up their ammunition and then left it shamefully, the Officer that commanded in it being killed: our people say it is an advantageous post. This is all the news I am sending you at present.

I am, Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

As to what you write about the fort where you are, I leave it to you to do just as you think fit.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association, 31st July, 1707.

Sir,—I was yesterday ashore at S. Valette, his Royal Highness has desired that you come with your Squadron before the harbour's mouth and

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continue there with Sir Thomas Dilkes to keep the communication open with the Army and that you send some ships such as you shall think fit to cruise off of Marseilles to prevent the Galleys returning to Toulon, of which they have greater fears than they had of their getting from thence.

Everything has almost been at a stand ashore, I find neither Officers nor soldiers very forward, these great guns don't well agree with them, but now they seem to design to proceed more vigorously and resolve to attack Fort Louis and St. Margarets.

We continue to land every day ammunition and provisions for them and we are going to land more guns to make up the whole number between 90 and 100 and I believe I shall in a little time be ready to come to you.

I am, Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

I am sending you the Winchester.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association before Toulon.
August 7th, 1707.

Sir,—You will herewith receive a copy of the Memorial his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy has sent me for taking off the sick and wounded, and the guns, ammunition and provisions etc. that has been landed, I would therefore have you take with you the Triton [?] and the Hospital Ships and Transports in the margin,[1] the Transports

[1]

Hospitals.	*Transports.*	
Smyrna Factor.	Lisbon Factor has:	Samuel & Anne has:
Jeffreys.	Oats sacks 1,750.	Oats sacks 984
Matthews.	Flower 1,200.	Flower 856

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being already laden with meal and grain for the Army and proceed with them immediately to the Bay of Hieres, and take under your command all the men of war and transports there and give what guidance you can and such directions as you shall think fit for the despatch of the said services.

You are to cause the sick men of the Fleet that are on board the Hospital ships to be put into condition and order them to receive as many of the sick and wounded of the Army as you shall think fit, taking care that those you order aboard such ships be either all Piedmontese or all Germans and Auxiliaries, and that the worst of the sick and wounded be put into the hospital ships.

You are likewise to cause as many sick and wounded of the Army to be put aboard the Triton [?] as she can possibly receive or as you shall think fit, all of them to be either Piemonteses or all Germans and Auxiliaries, directing her Commander to proceed with them as by the said Memorial is desired, and when he has landed them that then he makes the best of his way to Genoa or Leghorn, and careen and refit his ship in order to stop her leaks and put her into condition for the sea and that he complete his provisions to three months at whole allowance and that when he is ready to sail, he comes where he may hear the Fleet is, if on the Coast of Italy, or we are gone from the Coast of Italy that then he comes to Barcelona, and not finding the Fleet there, then he is to proceed to Alicante.

As soon as you can get such Transports ready as you shall think fit with the provisions that are to be sent to Frejus you are to send them away with two men of war at least, to remain there till the Army comes and disembark such provisions as

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shall be desired for the Army, and then to follow the Fleet to the Var [?].

As the sick men come off and the hospital ships are filled, you may likewise send them away with such Convoy as you shall judge fit, to the places where they are to be landed, desiring them to put ashore the sick men, and remain there till further order.

In case there be not room in the hospital ships and Triton [?] for all the sick and wounded of the Army, you must order some of your Transports as you shall think fit, to be got ready to receive the wounded and in case you cannot make room for them in the Transports, then to order such as you shall think fit, to be taken aboard the men of war.

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association,
Saturday, August 9th, at 11 at night.

Sir,—I received yours to-day at the Camp with his Royal Highness and since my coming off I received positive notice from his Royal Highness that he designs to decamp tomorrow morning, and would have orders given to your garrison of Hieres not to march out of it till he sends them notice in regard that he may have occasion to draw bread from thence for the Army, and he assures me that he will give timely notice, and therefore would have you give Ramsay orders accordingly.

What His Royal Highness further desires again

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is that the ships may be sent to Frejus as fast as possible; I have ordered the two Transports and Jeffreys Hospital Ship to be gone to you at daylight tomorrow morning, and therefore desire you will order Hancock and Fogg to be ready, that no time may be lost.

As to the rest of your letter, what you propose I think is very right; you see the haste they are in, and I don't doubt you will order everything accordingly.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

P.S.—I would have you give Ramsay strict orders that when he comes away from Hieres, he does not suffer his people to meddle with anything in the town.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War held on board Her Majesty's Ship, the Association before Toulon, August 11th, O.S., 1707.

PRESENT

Sir Clow. Shovell, Kt. Admiral etc.
Sir Thos. Dilkes, Rear Admiral.
Sir Jno. Norris, Rear Admiral.
Captain Edmd. Loades.
Capt. Van Convent.
Capt. Beeckman.

Whereas the Army under the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene is marched from before Toulon to Frejus and the Var, and our bombardments by sea having been continued to this morning, by

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which time the enemy had brought guns upon the shore and much damnified the Bomb Vessels, which has made it impracticable to continue the Bombardment: And his Royal Highness having likewise desired the Fleets accompanying the Army to the Var, it is unanimously agreed that we proceed with the confederate fleet to that place, and land their sick and wounded men and their ammunition, as desired by his Royal Highness.

FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association,
August 11th, O.S., 1707.

Sir,—I have yours of yesterday by your boat, with the Duke of Marlborough's letter which came by Brigadier Palmes. I am glad he met with the Orford. I desire you will give him my service, and recommend these two letters to him.

Our bombs last night fired very briskly and about midnight a great fire broke out which we took to be in the town, but two seamen that were sent ashore say it was two great ships in the Basin. I would we had had more time, but they brought guns to the waterside and mauled our bomb vessels.

We had a meeting of Flags today, and resolved to sail with the Fleet to the Var. I send you a copy of the resolution and desire you will give rendezvous to the ships with you, men of war and transports. I will come to you to Hieres.

I approve very well your intentions as to the convoys, and am,

Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

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If the wind continues westerly I will call at Frejus, and would have you do so too if I don't call for you at Hieres; I will sail from hence whenever we have wind.

If Brigadier Palmes is gone, send a frigate with the letters.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War held on board Her Majesty's ship the Association between Nice and the Var, August 22nd, O.S., 1707.

PRESENT

Sir Clowdisley Shovell, Admiral
Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral
Sir Thomas Dilkes, Rear Admiral
Sir John Norris, Rear Admiral
Captain Edmund Loades
Captain Van Convent
Captain Beeckman.

The service of the project upon Toulon being now at an end, and the Fleet being come hither at the direction of His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy to accompany him in his march out of Provence, and His Royal Highness having acquainted the Admiral that he has now no further service for the Fleet, but to disembark the stores, provisions, ammunition, and sick and wounded men of the Army which are in the men-of-war and transports of the Fleet: and His Royal Highness and Prince Eugene having both declared that they have no troops at this time ready to

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embark for Spain, but the Prince having intimated that he is in expectation of orders in a little time for sending of troops thither.

We are unanimously of opinion, in regard to the season of the year, and the shortness of provisions in general in the Fleet, and that there is now no further service for the whole body of the Fleet, that a squadron of ships left in these parts for the assisting the debarking of the stores, &c. out of the men-of-war and transports at the several places as desired, and to assist the transporting and convoying such troops as there may be directions for sending to Spain, or such other service as they shall be directed, and that the rest of the Fleet do proceed immediately to Barcelona.

CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL
G. BYNG
T. DILKES
JNO. NORRIS
EDMD. LOADES.
JOH. VAN CONVENT
C. BEECKMAN.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TOULON

This was a great enterprise upon which the eyes of all Europe were set. The Duke of Savoy undertook to march an Army into France; upon which Marechal Tessé was sent to secure the passes, and to cover France on that side.

In June the design upon Toulon began to appear. Prince Eugene who was to second the Duke of Savoy had orders not to expose his troops too much. 12,000 of his troops were ordered to Naples. 10,000 of his recruits were kept in Germany.

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The Duke of Savoy notwithstanding these disappointments, after he had for some weeks covered his true design by a feint upon Dauphiné by which he drew most of the French troops to that side, as soon as he heard the fleet on the coast, he made a quick march through the mountains to the Var, he passed the Var and made all the haste he could to Toulon. All the artillery, ammunition, etc. was on board the fleet, so the march of the Army was as little encumbered as possible.

At Toulon they were quickly masters of some enemies. At first coming they might have possessed themselves of St. Anne's Hill if Prince Eugene had executed the Duke of Savoy's orders. This raised a high discontent, but he excused himself by showing the orders he had received not to expose the enemies troops [?].

The troops of France were ordered to march from all parts to Toulon. The garrison within was very strong.

The Duke of Savoy, whose force had never been above 30,000 men, seeing so great a force marching towards him, and there being no hopes of his carrying the place, found it necessary to march home in time.

This design chiefly failed by the Emperor's means. The Duke of Savoy was not wanting on his part, though many suspected him of being backward and cold in the undertaking.

Garrison 1707

May 12, N.S. Count Daun [?] marched from the Modena [?] to Naples.

June. The Fleet arrived at Vado.
The Army marched over Col di Tende.

July 26. Came before Toulon.

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Aug. 15. The Marshal made a sally, and beat the Allies.

Aug. 26. The Duke of Savoy returned to Frejus.

The French were strong 30,000 men.

The Allies had 7,000 men killed or wounded in their Expedition.

They lost but few in the retreat, not being followed.

Hist. of the Siege of Toulon. [*Interlinear corrections which frequently occur in this narrative are given in footnotes.*] The Allies were powerful in Italy and had no further opposition from France and Spain. They consulted how to employ their Forces. The Duke of Savoy was desirous to make the Expedition against Toulon. He was not only moved by the glory he should gain in making so important a conquest, but by invading Provence, he thought to regain Savoy from the French by drawing their Troops that way, besides, he was supplied with English money and the English was set upon the enterprise and would spare nothing for the destruction of Toulon. But the Emperor was set on the conquest of Naples, encouraged by intrigues and dispositions there in his favour. This caused a difference among the Allies; the English and Dutch opposed it, being bent on the enterprise against Toulon as it would destroy a great part of the Naval strength of France and its great magazines for ships. The English Court prevailed with Prince Eugene to declare himself in favour of the expedition to Toulon, and to go on it with the Duke of Savoy. They made him great offers. Prince Eugene gave his consent without laying aside the expedition to Naples. The number detached was small, yet the

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English and Dutch were not satisfied with it, but were appeased on the easy and speedy success of it.

The resolution to attack Toulon was at last unanimously agreed on. By their motions, their designs were not presently discovered by the French.[1] The French took measures to prevent whatever project might be designed upon France.[2] They began to put Toulon in a posture of defence, orders were sent for troops to march from all parts into Provence, to be commanded by Marshal Tessé and Count Medavi[?] was ordered to march from Savoy into Provence, but they [*word illegible*] drew off their Troops from thence only in proportion as the Duke of Savoy did, to reinforce his Army going to Provence, nor did they draw off their Forces from the valley of Barcellonette till the Duke of Savoy's motions had declared his intentions, least if they had marched their troops in all haste to the Var, the Duke of Savoy had penetrated through the valley of Barcellonette into Dauphiné. All the town and open country did what they could for their safety. They raised money, assembled themselves into troops, collected provisions. Marshal Tessé went himself to Toulon on the 10th. He found the fortifications towards the land were not in a condition to hold out a siege six days, so that if the Duke of Savoy could get there before the French troops, it could not make any long resistance.[3] Marshal Tessé gave all the necessary

[1] 'Their whole Army by degrees was brought to [?].'

[2] 'When the English Fleet appeared off Genoa, it was no longer doubted that the design was against the coast of Provence where there was but ten battalions.'

[3] 'It was one of the worst places both with respect to its situation and fortifications. It was the 8th of July when they began to fortify St. Catherine's & to put the town in some condition of defence.'

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orders for its defence. There was but a small time for it, the Duke of Savoy marching thither with great expedition.[1]

The French fear the Duke's arms might gain the start of their troops, marching to Toulon out of Dauphiné and Savoy, and gain the [*word illegible*] of [*word illegible*] which would have rendered it impossible to secure the town. But 29 battalions advancing with all expedition to get to Toulon before the Duke, 19 arrived there the 23rd July and the rest the 25th July before the Duke, who had no information of this till he came to Cuneo [Coni ?]. The Marshal left Mr. Goesbriand and Mr. Dillon to command the forces got into Toulon and went himself to Aix (at the time the Duke's vanguard arrived at Toulon), and assembled the troops that were under Count Medavi and those which came from the Rhone and Languedoc. The Duke of Savoy was extremely surprised to find at their arrival before Toulon 40 battalions either in the place or in their entrenchments, a covert way, and a battery of above 3,000 pieces of cannon. They expected nothing of this and were forced to change their scheme, and began to entrench themselves from St. Catherine to La Malgne. Marshal Tessé who was assembling the troops coming from all quarters posted them in such a manner as to protect the country and preserve the communications with Toulon, and he ordered Count Medavi to post himself at St. Maximin to cover Aix and to keep the Duke's troops in their

[1] 'And the 7 Batt. 2 Regim. of horse & one of dragoons under Monsr. de Sailly who marched to the Var, not being able to prevent the Duke's passage over it & he was obliged to retreat to Toulon, where they arrived the 22nd July, having left a garrison in Antibes.'

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camp and to prevent their getting subsistence from the country.[1] Then the Marshal marched to Toulon with 4 battalions and posted himself in a third line behind his entrenchments. These fresh succours broke the measures of the Duke of Savoy, who thought of nothing now but to fire upon and bombard the town, and the English fleet not being able to bring in their bomb vessels by reason of the fire of Fort Louis, they resolved to batter it. They took it and then on the 21st July [August] their bomb vessels approached and bombarded the harbour. There was a battery kept them back and obliged them to return. Their bombs fell into two old ships and that was all the damage they did. The rest of the King's ships which were 50[?], the Arsenal and Magazines of the Navy received no damage.[2] The 22nd the bomb vessels rejoined the Fleet, not being able to hold out longer against the cannon from the land, and the little Forts kept the Allied Fleet very much in awe. The Army had already decamped on the 21st at night without noise, and marched with great precipitation. They had suffered very much before Toulon by the grapes and Verjuice which increased the flux amongst them.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT

The secret of the expedition to Toulon was entrusted to very few. While the Army was

[1] 'The Marshal with 28 battalions and above 30 [?] squadrons covered Aix and Marseilles.'

[2] 'There was nothing to be heard but the thunder of cannon and mortars for the French fired upon the Allies from five or six different places, and their batteries fired very slowly towards the evening.'

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drawing together at Coni under the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene preparing for their march to the Siege of Toulon, Prince Eugene having received orders detached ten or twelve thousand men for the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples. The French Army at this time was assembled in Dauphiné waiting the motion of the Duke of Savoy, and though they suspected his intention of marching into France they knew not what was designed; it was a secret well kept, which was very surprising considering everything. When the Duke marched, and came to Barcelonette [?] in the mountains, where the road divides into two, the Duke's Army taking that which led to Nice, determined what was intended; upon which the French General concluded his design was against Toulon, and by diligent marches made what haste he could in the other side of the mountains, to get into the place before the Duke should arrive before it. And the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, on the other hand, made the greatest marches that were possible over mountains, and through defiles, to be there before the French, and both Armies made forced marches for it, and in excessive hot weather.

The Exped^{n}. kept very secret.

12,000 men sent to Naples.

The French Army watched the motions of the D. of Savoy.

Motions of both Armies towards Toulon.

Sir Geo. Byng who was sent by Sir Clowd. Shovell to attend the Army on its march, kept along shore with the fleet and transports, in which were the necessaries for the Army, and had communication with them every day except one, in their march. When the Army came to

Sir G. B. kept along the coast with a squadron.

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the Var and was to pass it, Sir Geo. Byng ordered some of his ships close in to flank the lines the French had drawn on the other side of the river. This the ships did with success, and beat the French out of them. The French had here a little Army which was not strong enough to dispute the passage of the Var, so the Allied Armies met with little or no opposition, and the French retired as the Allied Army advanced, which they continued to do with forced marches to get to Toulon, before the Army from Dauphiné; and this obliged them to leave Antibes and all the French garrisons behind them, and being in an enemy country the lame and the sick fell into their hands. When the Army came to Frejus, it was so excessively fatigued and harassed, that they were obliged to halt there for three days, and they had particularly in this last day's march gone 16 mile from Antibes to Frejus in this hot country, and at this time of the year, not meeting with a drop of water, so that when they came to the river, it was not possible for the officers to keep their men (almost dead with thirst) from running to the water's side, where they all lay along in rows to satisfy it with the utmost eagerness. There went a story that upon this march, in which the men could hardly support their fatigue, two Grenadiers, pressed by

Passage of the Var. [1]

The Allied Army made forced marches.

Halted at Frejus quite fatigued.

[1] Lieut.-Commander Owen has drawn my attention to the fact that it was really Norris who was in charge of the naval supports at the passage of the Var. He left Savoy's camp and rejoined the fleet hoisting his flag in the Monmouth (70) and took command of the flotilla which was operating close inshore. While the passage was being effected, however, Shovell, Byng and Dilkes all came on board the Monmouth to direct operations. Norris then went ashore to command the foremost landing party from the fleet and hoisted a blue flag over their trenches.

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their officer to march on, which they could not possibly do, placed the muzzle of their piece to their foreheads and their feet to the trigger and shot themselves through the head. The necessity for these three days' halt at Frejus was very unfortunate, as it gave the French so much time in their march to get to Toulon almost at the same time with them.

The Army continued its march and Sir G. B. took possession of Hieres.

The Army continuing its march, Sir Geo. Byng coasted it with the Fleet, and when he came before Hieres he landed about 600 Marines and ordered them to take possession of it. It was a walled town and the inhabitants had shut their gates which, however, they opened upon being summoned, and the English possessed themselves of the place meeting with no opposition. Sir George Byng went himself up to the town and promised them they should be protected from plunder if they would erect ovens to bake bread for the Army, and provide hospitals for the sick, which being promised he preserved them from plunder and ordered the gates to be shut against any of the Army and strictly charged the Officers and soldiers with the preservation of the town. The Army which was on its full march not being come up the gentlemen of the town advised Sir George Byng to return to his ship for they could not answer for his being safe as the French Army was not more than two miles off, and parties from it being everywhere, so when he had given orders for preparing ovens and hospitals and other necessary things for the Army he returned on board his ship. When the Army came up the Germans marched to take possession of Hieres and were surprised to find it in the hands of the English and the

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gates shut against them, and as Sir George Byng had given orders no troops should be admitted they took it very ill to be refused, and thinking they had a right to the place they complained of it which when the Duke mentioned it to Sir George Byng the first time he saw him, and Sir George Byng told him his reasons for what he had done[1] and that it would be of more service to them, than to give up the town to the Germans to be plundered; the Duke desired the English might keep possession of it and continue to refuse entrance to any of the Army, that the place might be preserved for the purposes intended by Sir George Byng; and the Duke told him upon this occasion that he found that he had better command over his people than he had over his, alluding to an accident which happened and had very much piqued him; for the Piedmontese having taken up a place for the Duke's own quarters, the Germans, although acquainted with it, were for plundering it, and upon being refused admittance, they attacked it and carried it, some of the Piedmontese being killed with the Officer who commanded them, and then plundered it from the top to the bottom notwithstanding it was allotted for the Duke's quarters.

The Germans took it ill the English would not deliver up the town to them.

The French troops that were at the Var retiring before them, were now got into the lines which were thrown up before Toulon and were not perfected. Upon the first notice they had at Toulon of the design against them, they began to throw up works and were in such a hurry that even the women and children

The French troops from the Var retired into the line before Toulon.

[1] In pencil 'waited on him to acquaint him with what he had done.'

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assisted at them, but they were far from being perfected when the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene came before the place. The Duke of Savoy told Sir Clowdisley Shovell he was for attacking the lines that same day he came before the place, and before the French Army coming from Dauphiné and were very near, could throw themselves into them but Prince Eugene was of another opinion which prevented its being done, and the French Army from Dauphiné got into them. It has been thought that if they could have possessed themselves of those lines before the Army from Dauphiné got into them, it had been a principal step towards taking the town, but when the troops from the Var and the Army from Dauphiné were joined, they were thought to be an equal force to the Allied Army.

The works thrown up before the town.

The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the lines.

If the French Army did not arrive two days after that of the Allies, or if when they came before the place they found them got into the lines, or if they arrived but 24 hrs. before the Allies.

Pr. Eugene against it.

The Duke of Savoy was very much bent upon this expedition, and although he was greatly disappointed by the detachment made to the Kingdom of Naples yet he never doubted of success in it, and of being master of Toulon. And Sir George Byng in their march going constantly ashore to the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had always observed them to appear in high spirits about it and to be satisfied they were marching to certain conquest. And he observed all the Generals and Officers of the Army to be as much flushed with the thoughts of it as they seemed to be themselves. The Duke of Savoy, though he appeared ex-

The D. of Savoy zealous for this expedition.

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ceedingly gay and elevated all the time of this march (though there was no good correspondence between him and Prince Eugene) yet now from the very day he came before Toulon he was observed to be chagrined, disconcerted and quite altered. Next morning after the Army came upon the ground before Toulon Sir Clowdisley Shovell and Sir George Byng went ashore to him at his quarters and were conducted to him in his garden where he was walking alone, they found him thoughtful and much out of humour. Sir Clowdisley Shovell perceiving it, asked him if he was well, he answered him that he was, but never was more concerned and out of humour in any time of his life, no not when the French had drove him out of his country and had ransacked it in the manner they had done. Talking of the operations of this siege he told them he now found it would not do and that he did not hope now for the success he had flattered himself with. When Sir Clowdisley Shovell begged leave to ask him why he did not attack that body of troops from the Var before the other Army had joined them, he said he had been for attacking them last night as soon as he came upon the ground before the enemy could gain time, but was prevented by Prince Eugene's being of another opinion and opposing it, who said it was too little an Army to hope for victory, and too fine an Army to throw away, and that P. Eugene had not used him well.

He was chagrined on his arrival before the town.

It was generally thought the lines should have been attacked that night upon coming on the ground which it was said the French expected and very much apprehended.

All the Generals by sea and land had been summoned to attend at the Duke's quarters this

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morning. In the meantime the Duke of Savoy, P. Eugene and Sir Clowdisley Shovell were in consultation in a room within, and remained there together near two hours, considering of the steps to be taken. They found more difficulty in their operations now the French Army was arrived and had got within their lines before the town. The Duke of Savoy proposed the calling of a General Council of War of the Generals and Admirals. P. Eugene thought that as the whole affair had hitherto been conducted by them three, they might go on so and that whatever could be done, might as well be resolved by the Duke, himself, and Sir Clowdisley Shovell.[1] So they went on consulting, and Prince Eugene proposed, that a body of the Army should endeavour to place themselves on the West part of the town to invest it, and that a squadron of ships should lie in the Bay (Cenari Bay) on that side to support them, upon this they sent for Sir G. B. in, to consult with him about this proposition of a squadron going into Cenari Bay to prevent any succours and to cut off the communication that way. Neither he nor Sir C. Shovell knew the Bay, but as it was Summer time Sir G. B. thought they might anchor anywhere; and it was agreed he should go thither with a squadron. Sir G. B. was then desired to go on the Hill which laid to the North of the town and was possessed by the D. of Savoy's Army, as he might from thence make his observations how the Bay lay with respect to the town, for his better proceeding, and some Engineers were ordered to attend him.

Consultation for operations.

[1] Lieut.-Commander Owen points out that in Norris' Journal Eugene is made to suggest the idea of calling a general council of war and that Savoy is made to reject it, for the same reason given in Byng's Account by Eugene.

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From this hill he saw over into Cenari Bay and made the observations that might be necessary to him, and from thence he plainly saw down into the enemy's works, and what they were doing within their lines, which he perceived were not near perfected, and that the Enemy were very diligent in carrying cannon from the town to the lines in which men, women and children were employed. The lines were at this time so far from being completed that Sir G. B. was of opinion that had the Army of the Allies, then attacked them, they would have been of little use to the French, and might have been carried and consequently the town, which was very inconsiderably fortified to the land. But no dispositions were made for it, either because it was thought the French within were now a force equal to them, or it was not intended to push on the siege of this place, which many suspected was the case, since they did not attack the lines, and from this very first day, both Armies and Fleet were possessed with the notion that Toulon was not to be taken, and generally it was imputed to Prince Eugene who was suspected of not being zealous in the thing and of having orders from his Court not to forward this undertaking. But these were but conjectures, which had their first foundation in the detachment made from his army of 12,000 to Naples, before he began his march and now upon his having opposed the attack of the lines, which were far from being in any perfection. But there may be no more grounds for these suspicions than for that of the halt at Frejus being made on purpose to give the French time to get into their lines before

Conditions of the Enemy's lines.

Opinion that the lines should have been attacked.

Suspicions that the siege was not intended to be carried on.

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Toulon, which they did the day before the Allies got there. But this halt did not raise any suspicions in Sir G. B. whatever with them and saw the distress of the Army from their fatigue and marches and the necessity for its having rest. No doubt the necessity of this halt was very unfortunate, for if it had not been made, they had got to Toulon before the French and must have taken the place, which now they doubted their strength was not sufficient to effect as the French were equal in the line, and as their Army had been weakened by the detachment of the 12,000 men to Naples, which had they been here would have put the forcing of the lines out of all doubt. But instead of the Allied Army attacking the French, they were themselves attacked, and beat out of their works and while they were making their batteries, the French placed one of their large ships so as to bear upon the Vale in which they lay and gauled them very much.

The Allied Army attacked.

In the meantime Sir G.B. went with a Squadron into Cenari Bay and there lay a great many days expecting part of the Army as had been resolved on, but none of it appeared there, having altered their resolutions.

Sir G. B. in Cenari Bay.

And Sir Clowdisley Shovell ordered some ships in and landed some Marines and took Fort Louis and another Fort, and then the Bomb vessels were ordered in and then bombs over the Hill in amongst the French ships in the basin of Toulon. They could not see the ships, but were guided over it by a flag placed on the top of the hill by our people. The French ships received great damage, some we

Sir C. Shovell takes Fort Louis and bombards the ships in the Basin.

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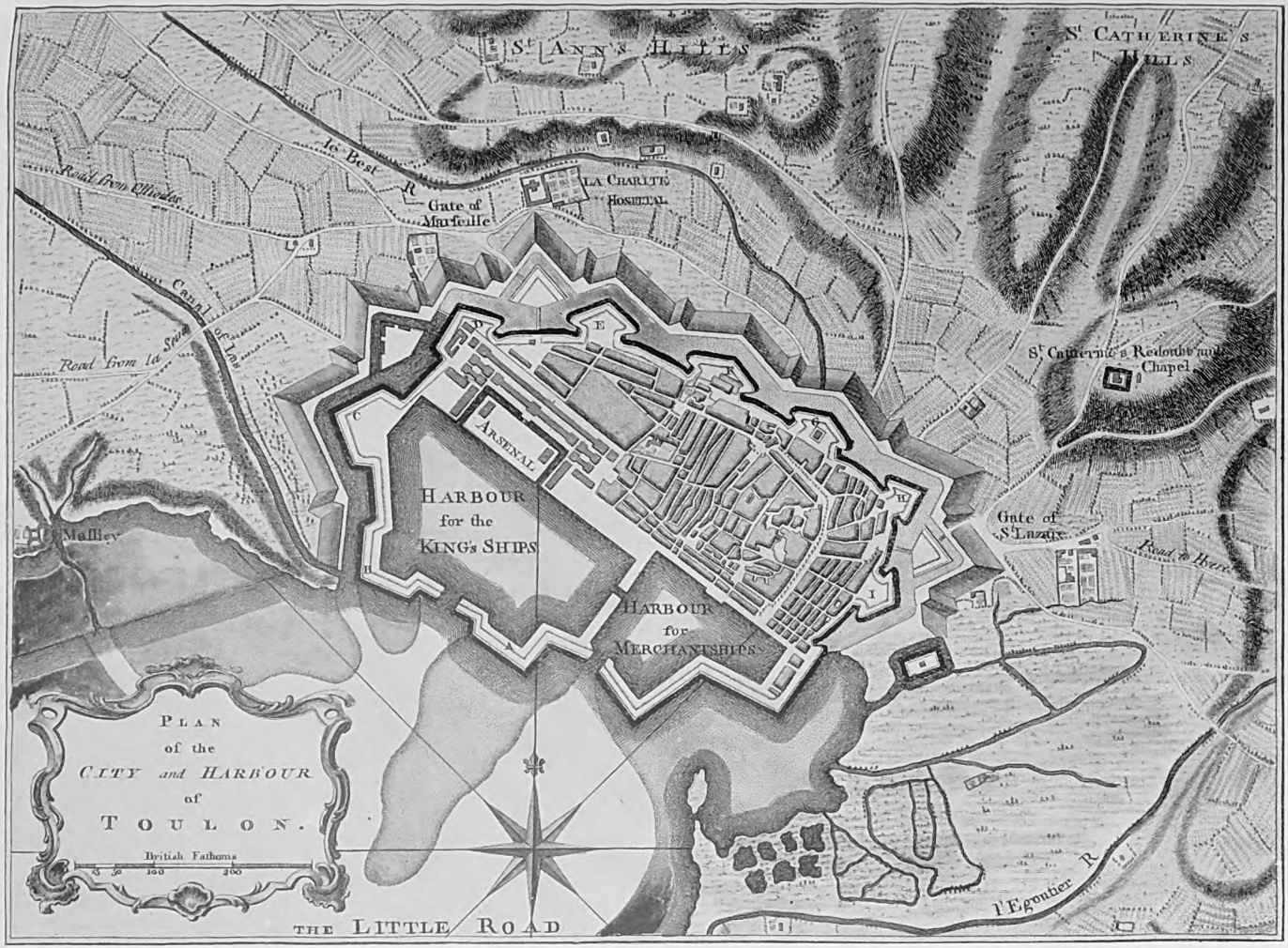
St Ann's Hills
St Catherine's Hills
la Best R
Road from Ollioules
La Charité Hospital
Gate of Marseille
Canal of Las
Road from la Seyne
St Catherine's Redoubt and Chapel
Arsenal
Harbour for the King's Ships
Harbour for Merchantships
Gate of St Lazare
Road to Hyeres
Mallieu
Plan of the City and Harbour of Toulon.
British Fathoms
0 50 100 200
The Little Road
l'Eguebier R

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burnt, but most of them they themselves sunk which they were in hopes of recovering afterwards, but lying there, their backs were broke, and they got so worm-eaten that they could never be repaired.

The Army made no progress against the enemy and not consisting of more than 22,000 men though said to be 30,000 and it was thought nothing further could be done as they were not able in their opinions to attack the French in their lines who were equal in strength with them, and had the further advantage of being covered within their lines. So without any great matters having passed they gave up the hopes of taking the place, and decamped from before it, and marched back to Nice.

The Allied Army raised the siege.

Upon the Armies moving off, Sir G. B. was desired not to quit Hieres but to keep possession of it till the rear of the Army was passed by. As this might endanger his little garrison by leaving them to be invested or intercepted in going off and by the French when the Allied Army was gone, he bethought himself of an expedient and went himself to Hieres about it, before the Army began their march. Here he assembled the chief men of the town, and told them that as it was thought proper the garrison in Hieres should remain here, till the rear of the Army was passed by, it was necessary they should give him some security, that it should not be molested afterwards by the French troops in their march to the seaside to embark. That as their town had hitherto been entirely preserved from plunder and destruction, so he promised them it should still be preserved

Sir G. Byng keeps possession of Hieres till the Army was marched by and then embarked the English that were in it.

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if they would assure him of the safe retreat of his men on board the Fleet when the rear of the Army was passed by. But if they could not be secure of a retreat the town should be plundered and burnt before they quitted it. They acknowledged their preservation hitherto had been owing to him but they could not promise what he desired, but they would apply to the General of the French Army. Sir G. B. positively rested upon this, that he must have a promise that the garrison should retreat unmolested, or they should destroy the town, before they quitted it. Upon this the Magistrates of Hieres sent away immediately to the General of the French Army, who sent Sir G. B. his assurance that they should not be molested in their retreat, in case they did no injury to the town when they left it.

Upon these assurances and conditions the English garrison remained there till the rear of the Army was marched by which was not followed by the French Army. And then the English marched out of town without committing the least injury keeping their words, as the French did in not offering to molest them in their retreat to the seaside, and they and the French parted as friends and not as enemies. They had perfectly agreed while they were in the town; the English officers and soldiers observing strictly what Sir G. B. had recommended, and had not given the least occasion for any complaint, but had behaved themselves to the entire satisfaction of the inhabitants, who were very sensible of the happiness of seeing their town preserved, when all the country round was stripped and destroyed. They were so sensible of this, and of the good behaviour of the English that they treated them while they were in Hieres with all the civility they could, and when the English

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came away, they made a present of $\frac{1,200}{2,000}$ pistols to Col. Ramsay who Sir G. Byng had appointed to command there, and of 50 pistols to every subaltern officer. They had desired Sir G. B. would say what he would have when he first came there, but he would have nothing for himself and only required the performance of their promise to erect ovens and hospitals; nor would he receive any share from Col. Ramsay when he offered it to him.

When the English were all embarked, the French put out a flag of truce, upon which Sir G. B. sent his boat to the shore, and it brought off some of the chief men of Hieres, who came to him deputed from the Town, to return him their thanks for the civilities and good usage they had received from him while their own town was in his hands, and for the great care he had taken to preserve it, and to assure him they should always acknowledge it, and that whenever he came upon their Coast, either in War or in Peace, and they knew of it, they should be ready to send him off any refreshments he should want and to show him every token of their acknowledgements. And when the Deputies returned back, boats with refreshments were sent off to Sir G. B. and thus the French and English parted in friendly dispositions to each other.

Sir G. B. sailed along shore as the Army marched as far as Nice, and here the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene separated. The Duke of Savoy went off first with his Army, marching over the mountains and Prince Eugene marched back the way he came, into Lombardy.

Sir G. B. sailed to Nice. The Armies separate.

When Sir Clow. Shovell went to take his leave of Prince Eugene, the Prince told him that he

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could not help taking notice to him of an opinion that had prevailed in the Fleet as well as in the Army, that it was owing to him Toulon was not taken. That he was sorry this opinion should prevail in the Fleet and that the English whose good opinion and esteem he always desired and valued should lay the blame upon him. That in entertaining this opinion they injured him, for he assured him it was no fault of his, that he was no ways to blame, that he had not been indifferent in the success of this affair, and that in the part he had taken, he had acted to the best of his knowledge as a soldier; that he had received no orders from the Emperor (as had been suggested) to be lukewarm and not act with vigour, and said that the Court of Vienna did not dare to send him such, for the Emperor knows, and he (Sir Cl. Shovell) knew too, that if they had, he should not have obeyed them. And he desired Sir Cl. Shovell would do him justice with the English.

Prince Eugene justifies his conduct to Sir Cl. Shovell at parting.

This was in their last conversation at parting and Sir Cl. Shovell when he went off, rowed directly on board Sir G.B. with whom he lived in great friendship and told him this which the Prince had been saying to him.

The same day Prince Eugene marched toward Lombardy. Sir Cl. Shovell sailed towards Barcelona very much disappointed and chagrined that this expedition, in which there was such confidence of success and was of such importance, should have this unfortunate conclusion, to the disappointment of all the Allies who had placed such hopes in it.

The Armies marched from Nice, and the Fleet sailed away.

I must observe that in this expedition the

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Fleet and Army had acted in perfect harmony[1] and that the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, and all the Generals and principal officers of State in both their Armies, were one day entertained on board the Fleet, every Admiral taking his part in receiving such officers as was agreed upon. And the revelling and feasting for the officers of the Army was in every part of the Fleet, and it was a day entirely given up to it.

Harmony between the Fleet and Army and the entertainment the fleet gave them.

[1] Savoy was with very good reason suspicious of the zeal and activity of the fleet when the campaign opened, for Norris records that 'the Duke askt me if the Fleet when Rook comanded did not stay in the Mediterranean till September; I told him I did not remember, but I believ'd if he was necessitated, you wou'd endeavour to serve his comands to that time; if I have slipt too much I pray pardon for the same, but my meaning was he should have no jealousie of our leaving him; after this he said my Ld. Peterborow had told him that the Fleet would only imbarrass by councils of war and do nothing. I told him my Ld. had little reason to blame us, and that I cou'd wish we were of that force we was with him at Barcelona, where I might modestly say the Sea contributed more than my Lds. Land to the taking yt place.' (Norris to Shovell 23 July 1707 O.S. Add MSS 28141). Clearly Peterborough's tactlessness had had far-reaching results.

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PART VIII

September-December 1707

THE RETURN OF THE FLEET FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

AFTER the collapse of the joint operations against Toulon there was nothing else to be done but to return to England for the winter. Dilkes was left in the Mediterranean with a composite Anglo-Dutch squadron, while Shovell, Byng and Norris sailed for home.

On 22nd October, while in the Soundings, the fleet ran off its course, owing to a fog, and became entangled in the dangerous rocks round the Scilly Isles. The Association struck on the ' Bishop and Clerks ' and sank with Shovell, Captain Loades and Shovell's two step-sons, the children of Admiral Sir John Narborough.

Shovell's mysterious and terrible death at the hands of one of the islanders added a further tragic element to the disaster. Five other ships struck of which three sank, and two managed to get off again and reach home. Byng, in the Royal Anne, escaped partly by good luck and partly through the presence of mind of his officers.

The disaster left him the next senior officer actively employed to Sir John Leake, and his personal letter to Godolphin attacking the Churchill direction of the Navy is of considerable interest.

The intelligent Colonel Sybourg, whose letter is included in the correspondence, commanded a Huguenot regiment in Spain. He afterwards commanded the English contingent in the defence of Alicante and was killed with Major-General John Richards when the enemy's mine exploded beneath them.

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FROM SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

Association,
Barcelona.
September 4th, 1707.

Sir,—I desire you will give orders to the ships of your Division to sail with me now, and let them know that I desire to go to Altea in order to make up our water there; and if they lose company, and do not find me at Altea, that then they follow me down to Alicante and from thence to Gibraltar.

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant,
CLOW. SHOVELL.

FROM COLONEL SYBOURG

Sir,—I cannot sufficiently express my grief for the disappointment our affairs have met with at Toulon, which I am sensible must give you no small chagrin, who have so thoroughly convinced the world, how widely different your particular intentions were in that business from those of the two great personages who pretended so heartily to embark with you.

However since we expect service here, and those who are capable of doing none would be a very unnecessary charge to the Queen, I think myself obliged upon this occasion to lay before you a list of such nvalids as we have at present in our Garrison, who have most of them already

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got my Lord Galway's pass for England ; nor can I conceive how they will have any opportunity more favourable than this for a passage thither.

Captain Buth of the Marines, who brings you this letter, will acquaint you their subsistence is already spent, and indeed the whole Garrison is almost n the same condition since the twenty-fourth of August last.

As to our ammunition, I am likewise to acquaint you we have not now nine hundred barrels in the Garrison, our stock having been considerably diminished by the reliefs of Denia Alcira[?] and some other small places that are in King Charles's interest ; therefore Sir if you could spare us any, this opportunity seems to be more favourable for that purpose than any we can promise ourselves of a long time to come.

As I am careful to send away the sick and lame soldiers, I think myself obliged to be equally solicitous for our sick officers. Captain Pallein[?] of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment and my Chaplain, are both so very ill that nothing but leaving this country can recover their health ; therefore I take the liberty of recommending them to your care, that they may [be] ordered aboard such ships as you shall think most convenient. The like favour I must beg for Ensign Horneck, whose affairs of the last consequence have called him to England. Thus, Sir, as we have nobody to apply to in our necessities but yourself, we give you a deal of trouble, yet hope your goodness will pardon this from

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

FRED. SIBOURG [SIC].

Alicante,
September 23rd, N.S., 1707.

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COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War held on board Her Majesty's ship the Association in Altea Bay, September 13th, 1707.

PRESENT.

Sir Clowdisley Shovell, Knt., Admiral
Sir George Byng, Knt., Vice Admiral.
Sir Thomas Dilkes, Knt., Rear Admiral
Sir John Norris, Knt., Rear Admiral.
Captain Edmund Loades.

The Admiral having communicated to this Council an order from His Royal Highness dated 25th June ulto., and received the 10th inst. directing that after the service with the Duke of Savoy is over, the Admiral with the Fleet under his command should give all assistance to Transport Troops from Italy to Spain.

And whereas the Admiral, after the design of Toulon was given over, and the Confederate Troops had marched out of Provence, did then propose to the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene to carry five or six thousand of their Army to Spain, and knowing they had not provision for such an expedition proffered to give provisions for the passage of the troops, but neither the Duke of Savoy or Prince Eugene had then orders to send any troops for the service of Spain ; but that night Prince Eugene sent the Admiral a memorial which seemed to give future hopes of troops for Spain, upon which the Admiral did next day take the said memorial into consideration with a Council of English and Dutch who came to a resolution under their hands, whereby all the transports,

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and a squadron of as many ships as could be then victualled out of the Fleet, were appointed to remain in Italy, to be at hand to assist the transporting and convoying such troops as there might be directions for sending to Spain, and the rest of the fleet to use the utmost diligence to join the victuallers coming to us from England, in order to put the squadron which the Admiral has appointed to be under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes in a condition to return to England for the greater safety and assistance of convoying such troops as shall be ordered from Italy to Spain; and the fleet being come hither, and have watered here, and we have yet no account of the victuallers being within the Straits, we are unanimously of opinion that we proceed together to Gibraltar, and not finding the victuallers there, that we make the best of our way out of the Straits to avoid the necessity we may be put to for want of provisions.

And whereas the Admiral did also receive the 9th inst. a letter from Mr. Secretary Burchett dated 18th June relating to the protecting the trade expected from Turkey. It is our opinion that if the said trade with their convoy join us in our way for England, that the Admiral should take them under the convoy of the great ships, or make their convoy stronger; and in relation to their passage in the Mediterranean, it is to be hoped the enemy at present are not in condition in these seas to disturb that convoy; notwithstanding Sir Thomas Dilkes may be advised as far as other services wi l permit to give his countenance and protection to them while in these seas and that if possible notice be given to the officer commanding the Turkey convoy, that there will be at Lisbon till the latter end of October or beginning of November, a convoy of three or

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four men-of-war for England, which if they join will be a security against the squadron the enemy usually cruise with in our Parts.

COUNCIL OF WAR

At a Council of War held on board Her Majesty's ship the Association off of Gibraltar, September 29th, 1707, O.S.

PRESENT.

Sir Clowdisley Shovell
Sir George Byng
Sir Thos. Dilkes
Sir Jno. Norris
Captain Loades.
Vice Admiral Wassenaer
Captain De Weis.

Vice Admiral Wassenaer having just now joined us, as we are under sail from this place, and having considered with him at a Council of War the instructions given by the Admiral to Sir Thomas Dilkes : Admiral Wassenaer acquaints us that the ships of the States General designed for the winter's service are in good condition as to stores, and that as many as can be put in condition as to provisions, he will order to proceed with Sir Thomas Dilkes on the service he is going. It is unanimously our opinion that Sir Thomas Dilkes remain at Gibraltar till the ships of the States General that are coming down the Straits, arrive, to take such of the States General's ships in his company as Admiral Wassenaer shall put in a condition to return up the Straits, and when that is done, that Sir Thomas Dilkes with the ships of the States General do proceed as his instructions direct.

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PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL

You are hereby required and directed forthwith to consider what ships of the Fleet under your command will be proper to be refitted at the Western Ports, and which in the Rivers of Thames and Medway and such as you shall judge best to be fitted at Plymouth and Portsmouth, you are to order directly into those harbours, and send the rest to the Buoy of the Nore, there to expect further orders, sending me an account how you dispose of the said ships.

Given under my hand this 7th October, 1707.

GEORGE.

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT

Sir,—I am very much affected at the melancholy news contained in your letter, which I received this day at noon by express, and soon after read it to His Royal Highness.

The Prince does well approve of what you have done, as to the disposal of the ships which are arrived with you; and I send this to you by express to let you know that His Royal Highness gives both yourself and Sir John Norris leave to come to town, where I hope to kiss your hands suddenly [?], and do heartily congratulate your escape; being,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

J. BURCHETT.

Admiralty Office,
26th October, 1707.

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FROM PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK

Whereas the Muscovia Company have delivered a Representation, in which they set forth :

1. That Rear Admiral Whetstone, when he was appointed to convoy their outward bound Trade this year, did off of Aberdeen, receive advice by a frigate sent in there that seven or eight of the enemy's ships of war were ahead of him.
2. That when the wind was very fair for the fleet to proceed on their voyage in the direct way, he, without any consultation, altered his course and carried the trade between the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, insomuch that several of their ships were in great danger of running up on the Island of Foula.
3. That he left the fleet soon after he was past Shetland, in the latitude of sixty one degrees and a half, though they were informed his orders were to proceed to the latitude of sixty three and it is presumed further, if there was apparent danger from the enemy.
4. That if Admiral Whetstone had proceeded the fair way with his fourteen men of war, it is the opinion of the masters of the merchant ships he might have fallen in with the French, and destroyed them, whereby the great losses sustained at and off Kildine[?] had been prevented, and that they are the more confirmed in this by the account the master of the Herbert galley gave to his owners upon his arrival at Yarmouth the 17th June last, viz: That on the 20th of the same month he saw off of Shetland seven French ships of war, one of which of 50 guns got within a mile of him.

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And whereas I think it necessary that this whole matter should be enquired into at a Court Martial, I do therefore transmit unto you herewith a copy of so much of the aforesaid Representation of the Muscovia Company as relates to the same, attested by my Secretary, as also of my instructions to him the said Rear Admiral Whetstone, and do hereby direct and require you, forthwith to assemble and hold a Court Martial on board Her Majesty's ship the Crown at Deptford or any other ship in sea pay in the River of Thames (for doing whereof you are empowered by my Warrant of this day's date) and strictly examine into and try thereat Rear Admiral Whetstone on the several particulars contained in the aforesaid Representation of the Muscovia Merchants. For which this shall be your Warrant. Dated this 28th November, 1707.

GEORGE.[1]

BYNG TO LORD GODOLPHIN

December 25th, 1707.

My Lord,—Understanding that there is a commission preparing for Sir Jno. Leake to be Commander-in-Chief, with the instructions and appointments usual to the Admiral of the Fleet, and to remain only in the post of Vice Admiral

[1] It appears that Whetstone was made the scapegoat of the Admiralty on this occasion, since his instructions only directed him to convoy the trade as far as the Shetlands, whereas by going further north still he actually exceeded them. Hence, in paragraph 3 Prince George only alleges that the merchants thought he was meant to convoy the trade beyond latitude 63. In any case the Admiralty measures were insufficient to cope with Fourbin, who was responsible for the captures, but Whetstone was superseded and not employed again. See Sir John Laughton's article on him in the *D.N.B.*

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of the White, which I cannot but look upon as a design of Mr. Churchill to keep myself and other officers from rising in Her Majesty's service, I pray leave to lay before your Lordship the posts of Flag Officers allowed by Parliament.

Upon the establishment of the Navy there are nine Flags allowed to serve in the Fleet, viz:

Admiral of the Red.
Admiral of the White.
Admiral of the Blue.
Vice Admiral of the Red.
Vice Admiral of the White.
Vice Admiral of the Blue.
Rear Admiral of the Red.
Rear Admiral of the White.
Rear Admiral of the Blue.

The present officers in pay that serve are, viz:

Sir Jno. Leake, Vice Admiral of the White.
Sir George Byng, Vice Admiral of the Blue.
Sir Thos. Dilkes, Rear Admiral of the Red.
Sir Jno. Jennings, Rear Admiral of the White.
Sir Jno. Norris, Rear Admiral of the Blue.

This I understand is the scheme proposed for the General Officers of the Fleet for this next summer's service.

Your Lordship will please to observe that the posts of the Admirals of the Red,[1] White [2] and Blue,[3] and of Vice Admiral of the Red,[4] are thought

[1] Rooke.

[2] Left vacant by Shovell's death, Leake was promoted to this rank on 8th January, 1708.

[3] Byng was promoted to this rank on 26th January, 1708.

[4] Jennings was promoted to this rank on 8th January, 1708, Dilkes having died in December 1707, and Norris was promoted to Vice-Admiral of the White on 26th January, 1708.

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too great for the officers that serve and do the duty of the Fleet, to be raised to. If Her Majesty is of that opinion, for my part, think it fit for me to serve no longer, for I am either qualified to serve in any post that shall become vacant in the Fleet, or I am not worthy of that I am now in. Therefore I pray your Lordship to represent my case to the Queen, and desire Her Majesty's leave that I may lay down my appointment, until she shall think me worthy to serve her in a better station, and that your Lordship will please to pardon this from,

My Lord,
Your &c.
G. B.

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